Attitudes of Canadian Government and Railway Companies to Settlement in North-Central Saskatchewan: A Spatio-Temporal Analysis of Policy, 1867-1931

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by

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Abstract:

My research will seek to affirm the factors that influenced the pattern and pace of populating a region between present day Prince Albert and North Battleford, Saskatchewan, during the period 1867 and 1931. A settlement boom had occurred in Western Canada during this era, and previous studies have sought to ascertain the factors that accounted for the boom and why the phenomenon had not occurred earlier. To date, studies addressing this issue have considered the Federal Policies for land, immigration and railways, several global push-pull factors, and the physical variables of land capability and climate as the primary factors affecting the settlement boom.

In examining the history of settlement of Western Canada, no study to date, however, has linked the inventory of land with the flow of immigrants into the region. It is exactly this gap that this study addresses. This study will utilize the inventory of the allocation of agricultural land to the population that first settled the region during this era, and will examine the timing and pace of homestead settlement in relation to the timing of all other forms of land alienation for the purposes of agriculture. These include the land sales of the purchased homesteads; pre-empted homesteads; school districts; the railway companies; land companies; and the Hudson's Bay Company.

This, furthermore, points to an important conjecture regarding government and railway policies that actually impeded settlement. Lewis (1981), Lewis and Robinson (1984) and Ward (1994) introduced the notion that the late railway branch-lines construction, and the late sale of pre-empted lands, may have acted as impediments to settlement. This suggestion has not been supported one way or another. In addition, the Railway's late selection of lands they were entitled to from the railway land grant reserve, and the subsequent late availability of sale of these lands to agriculturists have not been addressed. My research is intends to affirm these premises. The linkages between the different forms of land alienation will be shown here as a factor that contributed to the order and pace of settlement.

Acknowledgements

Most of all I would like to extend my gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Abraham (Avi) Akkerman for his guidance throughout my Graduate Studies program. His knowledge and experience are complemented by his inimitable ability to convey his knowledge to his students. I am eternally indebted to him for offering me a glimpse of academia, for providing a wholesome and sustainable study environment, and for facilitating attainment of what at times only he knew was possible. His methods are most often Socratic, whereby in the quest for truth, the master teaches by asking questions instead of just informing. He is a multi-lingual philanthropist of knowledge, and with his patience and meticulous scrutiny, I have begun to learn how to write. Thank you!

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- My parents Paul Skopyk and the late Stella (Malicky) for instilling in me a fundamental work ethic of which my heritage would be proud;
- My sons, Joshua and Jeffrey Skopyk, for understanding why I was not always there for them, and for making me swell with pride in their abilities.

Dedication

The timing of this research is intended to commemorate the Centenary of the Province of Saskatchewan: 1905-2005. It is hoped this study may give greater understanding and appreciation of our heritage and the aggregate of factors that interplayed during Western Canadian settlement between 1867 and 1931. Settlement epitomizes the definition of research in geography because it involves the interface between of a human population and a virtually undemarcated landscape.

I dedicate this thesis to my grandparents Dmytro and Anna Skopyk, and Paul and Maria Malicky, who left their Galician Ukrainian homeland a century ago, and to all immigrants that ventured West in the hope of offering a better life for their children.

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List of Abbreviations

BC	British Columbia
BNA Act	British North America Act
CNoR	Canadian Northern Railway
CNPLC	Canadian Northern Prairie Lands Company
CNR	Canadian National Railway
CPR	Canadian Pacific Railway
DI	Department of the Interior
DLB	Dominion Lands Branch
DLS	Dominion Land Survey
DM	decumanus maximus (east-west street)
GDP	gross domestic product
GIS	Geographic Information System
GTP	Grand Trunk Pacific
GTR	Grand Trunk Railway
HBC	Hudson's Bay Company
KM	kardo maximus (north-south street)
MMCL	Mackenzie, Mann and Company Limited
MP	Member of Parliament
NATC	North Atlantic Trading Company
NB	North Battleford
QLLSRSC	Qu'Appelle, Long Lake and Saskatchewan Railroad and Steamboat Company
PA	Prince Albert
PM	Prime Minister
qs	quarter-section
RM	rural municipality
S	section
SVLC	Saskatchewan Valley Land Company
T	township
U.S.	United States
U.S.A.	United States of America
WW1	World War 1

Part 1 A history of Canadian policies on immigration and land.

Chapter One

1.0 Introduction to the study

1.1 Thesis question:

The particular question I am addressing is whether there was a spatio-temporal pattern in the settlement of north-western Saskatchewan between 1867 and 1931. If so, can such a pattern be indicative of Government and Railway policies affecting settlement?

In order to address this question, research will focus on the order and pace of homestead settlement in relation to the timing of all other forms of land acquisition by the various proprietors including the Government, the railway companies, the Hudson's Bay Company, and the school districts. My research will seek to affirm a linkage between the timing of the land alienations[1] to a pattern in the settlement in the region of study. In searching for a meaningful spatio-temporal pattern, my research will systematically present the pace and order of settlement in a region between present-day Prince Albert and North Battleford, Saskatchewan. It will investigate the spatial interaction over time, of

[1] The alienation of the land is a term used to describe the estrangement of the land from nature to human use, which in this case was for the purpose of agriculture.

populations that came to inhabit the land for agricultural purposes between 1867 and 1931.

This thesis will also consider the timing of railroad branch-line construction in relation to the timing of settlement. The timing of branch-line construction will be examined for a link to the proportion of settlement that resulted from homesteads versus the land purchases from the various land proprietors. The examination will focus on the date of release of the various corporate land sales, and will also estimate the distance of settlement to various branch-line railroads that existed during the period of study.

Chapter 2 provides a review of previous research that has been carried out in relation to settlement of Western Canada, under three primary components: people, land, and transportation. Chapters 3, 4, and 5 describe the administration of these three components of settlement by focusing respectively, on Immigration, Dominion lands, and the Railways. My research in Chapter 6 systematically presents the pace and order of all land alienation in the Dominion Lands survey that was for the purpose of agriculture.

Chapter 7 provides a summary and overview of the principal factors that affected the spatio-temporal settlement pattern in the Dominion Lands Survey. Chapter 8 addresses the inventory of land in the selected area of study. It investigates the spatial interaction of the populations that inhabited the land for the first time for agricultural purposes. A Geographic Information System (GIS) is used as a tool for the identification, analysis, and illustration of a settlement pattern in the study area. The pattern will show the timing of all homestead land

acquisitions related to the timing of the land sales by all other land proprietors. The timing of settlement is related to the proximity of the various railroad branch-lines that were constructed during the period under consideration.

Chapter 9 addresses the commonly accepted notion that Government and Railway policies constituted advancement to the pace of settlement in the study area, and presents the conclusions of this thesis.

1.2 Conceptual framework

In Western Canadian historical demographic research, the questions that have been traditionally and primarily asked are those that have sought the most credible or primary factors that affected "settlement and the economy." Much previous research has focused attention on the examination of settlement in relation to economic growth and prosperity. Research by Hargreaves (1953); Studness (1964); Dennen (1977); Percy & Woroby (1978); Grant (1978); Lewis (1981 and 1984); Borins (1982); and Lewis & Ward (1994) is economic in nature. Economic data have produced models of economic viability, but not models of settlement pattern. Treating economic prosperity and settlement patterns together may detract from identifying significant geographic features in the pattern itself. I suggest that although they are somewhat synonymous, it might be advantageous to separate settlement pattern from economic analysis. Subsequently, this thesis does not directly address economic issues.

Little research has been carried out that separates settlement from economic viability. Macintosh (1934); Martin (1938); Morton (1938); Fowke (1946); Urquhart (1965); and Lambrecht (1991) have brought together in books,

comprehensive collections of Statutes, letters and archival data in respect to settlement. Little research, however, has explored the linkage between these data and settlement patterns. There have been no purely geographical models that address historical settlement in an agricultural region.

1.3 Limitations of the research

There are several limitations of this thesis. In the Dominion Land Survey, "miles" rather than "kilometers" were the unit of measure for the one-mile sections of land within the six-mile townships. Imperial units of measurement were used in that era and are therefore applied in my research. It is not the intention of this research to pursue the economic viability of purchasing land during the period of study at a given price. Nor is it the intention to address agricultural capability of the land in relation to the timing of its acquisition.

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to examine the potential settlement patterns of service-centres, towns, cities, and the extent of industrial development during this era. Although these developments are essentially acknowledged and generally linked to settlement, this thesis has focused on rural agrarian settlement. Also excluded from the analysis of the pattern of settlement is consideration of ethnicity of the settlers, even though settlement is known to have occurred in ethnic blocks during this period (Richards and Fung, 1969: 13). Research in urban or cultural settlement patterns would require a thesis of its own.

1.4 Geographic location and description of the study area

The study area is described as a 24 by 77 mile (40 by 120 kilometer) belt that is bisected by an 88 mile (142 kilometer) branch-line railroad. The 2500

square mile (6100 square kilometer) area includes the lands within the first two townships, or 12 miles (20 kilometers), on either side of the railroad branch-line. This Canadian Northern Railway (CNoR) (Canadian National Railway (CNR) after 1919) branch-line was named the Blaine Lake subdivision and was constructed in stages between 1910 and 1913. See Figure 1.1 for a map of the study area.

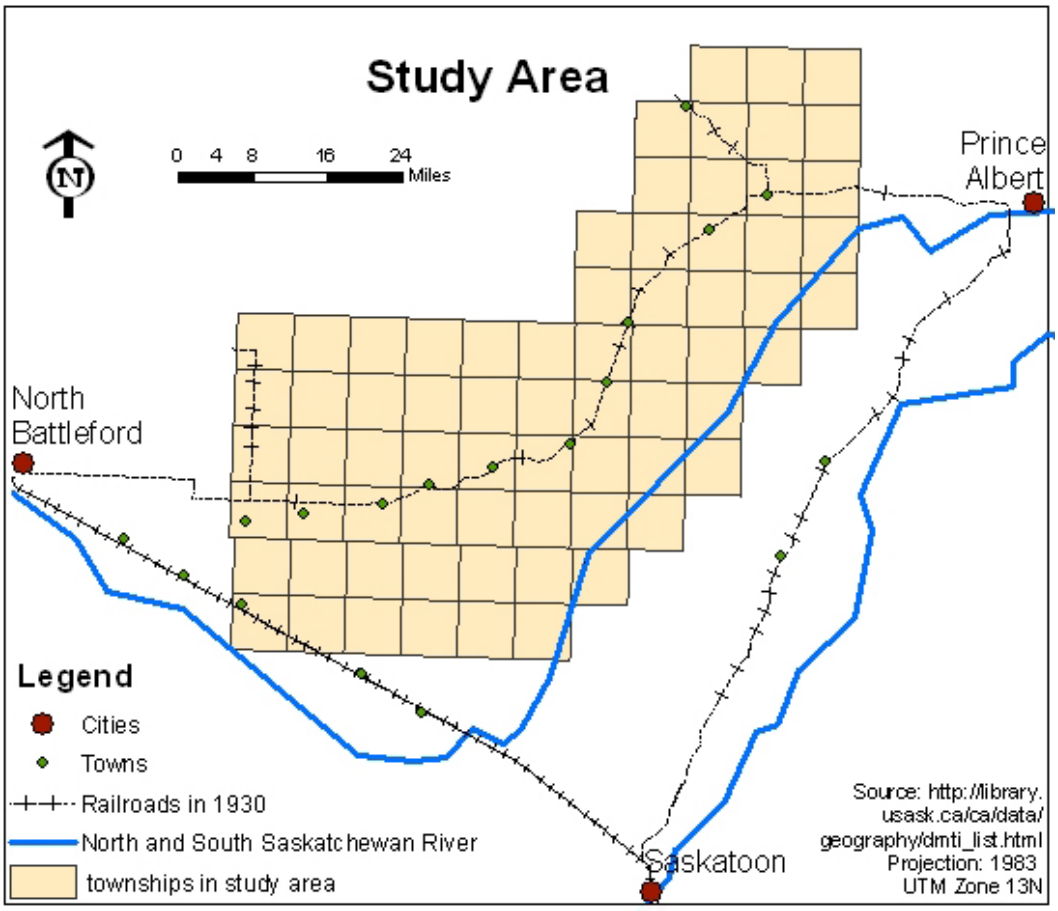


Figure 1.1 Study area.

Immediately adjacent to the study area are the present-day cities of North Battleford, Saskatoon, and Prince Albert, as well as two railroads that connected Saskatoon to North Battleford and Saskatoon to Prince Albert. These railroads are physically extraneous to the area of study; however, their services strongly

impacted settlement within the study area, being the primary means of transport during much of the period of study.

The region is located north of the North Saskatchewan River between 52°30’ and 53°30’ North latitude and between 107° and 108° West longitude. Using township grid coordinates, these lands are described as West of the 3rd Meridian, within Ranges 3 to 12 and Townships 40 and 52 (W3R3-12T40-52). The study area includes 70 townships in 5 different rural municipalities and 9,005 quarter-sections of land. Features in the study area include the North Saskatchewan River, Provincial Forest Reserves, and at the end of the study period the area had included the Little Red, Muskeg Lake, and Mistawasis Indian Reserves, and 15 railway service centres or towns that included Shellbrook, Canwood, Parkside, Kilwinning, Leask, Marcelin, Blaine Lake, Tallman, Krydor, Redberry, Hafford, Speers, and Richard. See Figure 1.2 for railroad service centres and branch-line railroads.

The study area, with some exceptions, is comprised of homogenous physical features which include similar agro-climate, topography, chernozemic soil type, and aspen parkland natural vegetation. The exceptions include lands that were largely wetlands, hilly, and with soils that do not support agriculture. The Dominion Land’s surveyors had surveyed all the land in the region by 1885, well in advance of agricultural settlement.

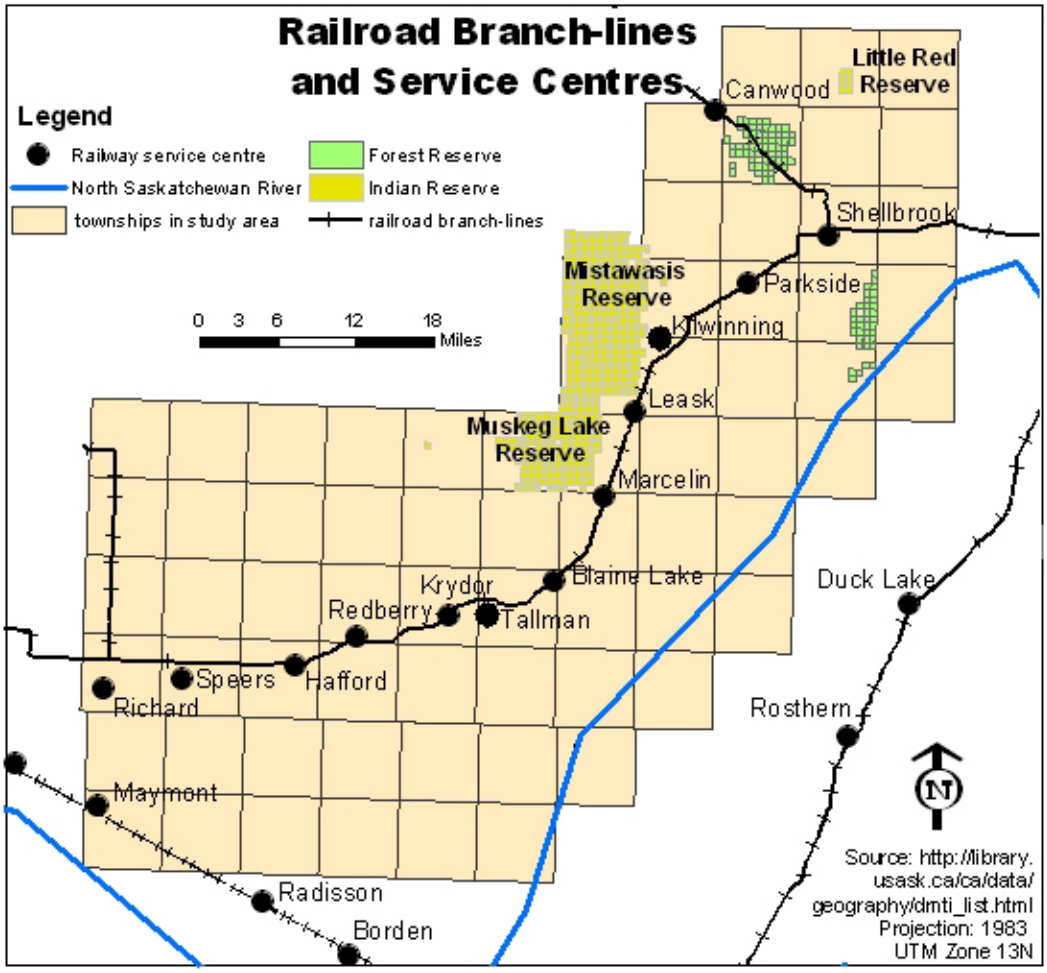


Figure 1.2 Railroad branch-lines service centres (1915).

1.5 Period of study

The period of study is the last three decades of the 19th century and the first three decades of the 20th century. However, by necessity some background reference in previous historical periods will be provided. The background (sections 3.1-3.6) is primarily intended to establish the character of the various administrations that preceded the period of study.

The period of study for this thesis was initially targeted to be from 1896 to 1914, the years of the settlement boom. A broader set of dates from 1867 to 1931 was necessitated for several reasons. The principle controls of the administration

of settlement occurred within these dates, to include numerous Acts and Policies (Chapters 3 to 6). An account of the many personalities and circumstances during the era of study is also important in the description of the principal developments and administrations.

Several historic events were central to having the era of study begin in 1867, even though the greater part of actual settlement did not occur until 30 to 50 years later. The Dominion Land's Act, the Indian Acts, and the Transcontinental Railway Contract were all legislated in the 1870s and 1880s. In 1885 the first transcontinental railroad, as well as the surveying of Dominion Lands, was also completed. These events will be discussed in more detail in Chapters 3-6.

The year 1930 was the last year of federal control of Dominion lands with the reversion of Dominion land administration to the provinces. By 1931 free-homestead lands were virtually exhausted. The year 1931 therefore provides a more definitive cut-off date for the era of study, although considerable railway, HBC, and school land sales continued for decades after 1931.

1.6 Pre-emption lands and branch-line railroads

In 1908, the Provincial Government of Saskatchewan passed legislation requiring the Railways to finally select the lands they were entitled to from the Railway land grant reserve, and that the pre-empted lands (section 6.2) that were not selected by Railways be made available for sale to agriculturists. It is well documented (Lambrecht, 1991: 26) that a flood of purchases of pre-empted lands had occurred when these lands were made available for sale. It is not known if or how this sudden availability of land was reflected in the spatial settlement pattern,

nor is it known if the price of the land affected its purchase. The landmark 1908 legislation may have been a link to the actualization of Government and corporate land sales, which may be illustrated in a spatio-temporal pattern of settlement.

This thesis will demonstrate that the pattern will first show that the lands designated as homestead lands had for the most part been filled by 1908, and that a substantial portion of the lands that were not homestead lands largely lay vacant to settlement up to that time. A link amongst the time of the release for sale of pre-empted lands (1908), and time of sale of railway-lands, to the pace and order of settlement in the region, will be accounted for in a spatio-temporal pattern.

I suggest that the temporal pattern will reveal that settlement occurred first on lands closest to the railroads that existed at that time, and that settlement distance from the railroad increased with time. I put forward that branch-line construction occurred up to a decade after and in reaction to, instead of an impetus for, homestead settlement. Furthermore, that during a critical period of settlement there was an absence of railroad accessibility for the majority of agriculturists in the DLS, for the transport of populations, grains, and commodities when transport by rail was required. Previous research has suggested but has not affirmed that the late construction of railroad branch-lines, and the late sale of pre-empted lands, may have acted as impediments to settlement.

Chapter Two

2.0 Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This Chapter provides a review of previous research that has been carried out in relation to settlement of Western Canada, under the assumption of three primary components: people; land; and transportation. It will first examine global and then Canadian factors that have been previously researched, as well as address gaps in existing research.

2.2 Global factors

In reference to the causes of the settlement boom, Bicha (1965) suggests that greater credit be given to the source or sending country of immigrants to Canada, other than just those of primarily British origin. Canadian Immigration Policy up until 1896, had allowed very few non-British Europeans to enter. It has been well documented (forthcoming in section 3.11.1) that the vigorous promotion and recruitment policies of the Laurier and Sifton eras from 1896-1911 precipitated the boom when previous efforts lay stagnant. It would seem that the importance of the "opening of the gates" to Eastern European farmers to immigrate to Canada is forefront in the scholarly search for theories and causes of the rapid pace and magnitude of immigration to Canada during this era.

The world prices for wheat soared in the late 1890s, and Borins (1982) established a link between the occurrences of the wheat boom of the late 1890s to the rapid pace of settlement. Although this correlation is unmistakable, it does not imply that there was a causal relationship between high wheat prices and the settlement boom.

Percy and Woroby (1978) showed a relationship between dry-land farming and non-dry farming in the U.S. and of rates of migration to the Canadian Prairies from the U.S. or elsewhere. When the lands in the preferred semi-humid climate were occupied, the quest for similar lands was extended to Canada. Grant (1978) concluded that homesteaders were adverse to risk, and that aridity was an impediment to settlement. After experiencing the drought of the 1930s, some farmers in the more southern regions relocated northward in the less arid parkland belt. Most of the available lands were however occupied by that time.

Emphasis also shifts to a series of factors that include the end of the U.S. frontier of sub-humid land; the development and diffusion of appropriate dry-land farming techniques; and upward movements in real wages. The list of events and developments that occurred in the mid 1890s, which have been given varying degrees of credit as factors influencing settlement, may be summarized to include: the settler's aversity to risk; falling transport costs for exports; the filling up of the American land frontier; international capital flows between North America and Europe; labour migration; and several agricultural and technical breakthroughs. None of these factors was related to federal initiatives and would likely have occurred regardless of the National Policy (Norrie 1979, 239).

2.3 Canadian factors

In virtually all the research, the approach to the settlement of agricultural land is treated as involving investment alternatives over time. Within the provisions of the Homestead Act (section 4.5.1, page 51), almost one-half of prairie land was given away rather than sold (Norrie, 1979: 254). Some research has suggested that the National Policy (forthcoming in section 3.8, page 26) did not have a major effect on settlement, but this assertion needs clarification.

Hargreaves (1953) and Mackintosh (1934) assessed the National Policy as being a significant instrument for stimulating economic prosperity. Dales (1972) and Corbett (1979) infer that on its own, the National Policy could not have contributed to the rate of settlement experienced at the turn of the 19th century. Much less settlement would have taken place without Governmental Policies and actions, however the main evidence against the National Policy is that it failed to work at any scale, for twenty or thirty years. By 1900 only 20% of the total possible number of homesteads had been recorded, but by 1914, the proportion of entries had reached nearly 89% by (Norrie, 1979: 239-40).

The positive effects of the National Policy are further discredited after an examination of other factors. Studness (1964) concluded that the lack of access to free homestead land was an impediment to settlement. If the Canadian Government had located Railway lands in more remote areas, and had encouraged more extensive railroad construction through cost subsidies – there is little reason not to believe that development before the turn of the century could have been more extensive.

2.4 Summary of literature review and gaps in the research

Previous research has examined a variety of factors deemed to have affected settlement in Western Canada, to include the Federal Policies for land, immigration and railways, and the physical variables of land capability and climate. It has sought to ascertain which factors had accounted for the settlement boom, and has also attempted to retrospectively determine why the phenomenon had not occurred earlier. It appears that much research has focused on and given credit to mostly economic factors as being the primary reasons for the settlement boom.

The dominant factor that caused the settlement boom becomes more apparent if one asks "who" caused the boom, rather than "what" caused it. Of critical significance is the opening up of immigration to Eastern-Europeans. This was a result of revisions to the Canadian Immigration Policy in 1896, to extend and promote Eastern-European immigration, for the first time (forthcoming in section 3.11.1, page 29). A settlement boom occurred after 1896 and a large number of immigrants that settled in the Canadian West after 1896 were of this origin.

Of critical significance, and surprisingly research has not supported or disproved it, is the time of the release of the pre-empted lands for sale, the sale price of the land, and the timing of railroad branch-line construction. Lewis (1981 and 1984) and Lewis & Ward (1994) introduced the notion that the late construction of railroad branch-lines, and the late sale of pre-empted lands, may have acted as impediments to settlement. So far this suggestion has not been

supported one way or another. My research will affirm the premise that the late construction of branch-line railroads and the late sale of pre-empted lands, may have acted as impediments to settlement.

One of the factors that can be attributed to federal initiatives was the Government's permission and assistance in the creation of a monopoly enjoyed by the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR). The CPR controlled the key ingredients to nation-building and unquestionably affected the settlement process (forthcoming in section 5.2). The CPR was given the legitimate authority to set their land sale prices, set the freight rates for the transport of goods, and to determine the construction dates of branch-line railroads.

Dennen (1977) argued that the free homestead land grant system probably induced agricultural settlement before it was economically profitable to construct rail lines. It was economically more viable and less risky for the railway companies to examine the viability of building railroad branch-lines in response to settlement, rather than inducing settlement after branch-line construction.

As already stated, Macintosh (1934); Martin (1938); Morton (1938); Fowke (1946); Urquhart (1965) and Lambrecht, (1991) have brought together in books archival data in respect to settlement. Little application has been made, however, that links these data to settlement patterns with a purely geographical settlement model.

Chapter Three

3.0 A history of immigration in colonial Canada: 1760 to 1931

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will examine the British Government's administration of colonial Canada between the years of 1763 and 1931. This background is important to establish the character and philosophies of the various administrations that prevailed prior to Confederation. This chapter will survey the philosophies of the significant leaders and policymakers, including Thomas Douglas, the Earl of Selkirk; James Craig, Governor of Upper and Lower Canada; John Lambton, the Earl of Durham; Prime Ministers John A. Macdonald and Wilfred Laurier; and Immigration Ministers Clifford Sifton and Frank Oliver. This research will investigate the interactions between the leaders and their respective Governments in relation to the French, to the political divisions forming boundaries within Canada, to a variety of global and national push-pull forces at play, to various wars, to their U.S. neighbour, to the opening up of the Canadian west, and to the numerous ethnicities that were not of British origin.

This chapter is intended to be descriptive and will demonstrate the magnitude and pace of settlement. There is a recurring philosophy that characterized the British administration throughout this era, namely their

aspirations to control the flow of people into Canada so as to perpetuate a British character for the colony. Since 1763, and up until 1896, there has been an embedded desire on the part of the British, for immigrants to assimilate within the British culture, as it was believed this would transform these newcomers to the desired British character of their citizens. Although this notion will not be treated directly, it may become apparent that the Immigration Policies of this era were instrumental in affecting the number of immigrants allowed to enter Canada.

The history of Canadian immigration includes the development of various Governmental Acts, Policies, and Regulations and is a study of who, when, and how many individuals could enter. The first Policies affected Canadian nation-building and the subsequent character of Canada today. It also offers a backdrop for contemporary Immigration Acts and may shed some light on the present-day debate about the composition of Canada's future population.

This chapter will describe the character of immigration over time. Events are not necessarily dealt with chronologically, but rather are portrayed by themes.

3.2 Contact

The first *homo sapiens* came to North America from Asia, *via* the Bering Strait land bridge, at about 12,000 B.C. (Knowles, 1997: 1). Centuries later, around the year 1000, Vikings made occasional Atlantic crossings. In 1492 Christopher Columbus, sailing for Isabella and Ferdinand of Spain, landed on North America's eastern seaboard (present-day Caribbean) and in 1497 the Italian mariner, John Cabot, sailing for England, glimpsed the shores of what is present-

day Labrador. In the 1520s the Portuguese had established the first North American colony on Cape Breton Island.

3.3 French Colonization

Jacques Cartier, a French explorer, erected a cross for Francis I of France on the Gaspé shore of present-day Nova Scotia in 1534. This foothold enabled permanent European settlement in North America. On his second trip, Cartier ventured up the St. Lawrence River and later fur traders followed on into the interior. The fur trade became the main enterprise of New France, and the French colonized what is present-day Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island. Samuel Champlain, the first governor of New France, advanced the French presence in the New World in 1608. He realized the new colony of Stadacona (present-day Quebec City) was essential to trade furs for European goods. Aside from timber and fishing, there was little economic activity in New France to attract immigrants from overseas, and so large-scale colonization did not yet occur. In 1627, under Cardinal Richelieu, a French commercial company began to establish agricultural settlements and encourage missionary activity in New France.

France and Great Britain had been in conflict in the War of Austrian Succession (1744-48). French troops were dispatched in 1744 to defend the colony in New France and again in 1755 during the Seven Years' War. The British, however, captured Fort Louisbourg (near the north end of present-day Nova Scotia) in 1758, and the French surrendered to Great Britain in 1763 by the Treaty of Paris. Great Britain had hoped the end of the Seven Years' War and the

issuing of the Proclamation of 1763 would facilitate a large influx of English settlers, and by the middle of the 19th century the British began to outnumber the French (Breton, Reitz and Valentine, 1980: 17).

3.4 The Loyalists

Between 1775 and 1784, Quebec and Nova Scotia accepted thousands of English-speaking Protestant settlers who had been uprooted during the American Revolution. These United Empire Loyalists were mostly political refugees who feared imprisonment or harassment for their support of the British during the U.S. War of Independence. Between 40,000 and 50,000 Loyalists fled to British North America and many relocated along the north shores of the St. Lawrence River and Lake Ontario (Wilson, 1988: 68):

> …the very arrival of these refugees determined that Canada would retain its colonial ties with Great Britain. As a result, Canadians … adopted the British model for political institutions rather than the American one. The Loyalists … transformed [much of what is known as present-day] Nova Scotia and brought into existence New Brunswick [and] they also precipitated [through the Constitutional Act of 1791] the division of Quebec into Lower Canada [Quebec] and Upper Canada [Ontario]… in the west. (Knowles, 1997: 26)

The Loyalists and their descendants exerted a profound and enduring influence on the development of the young colony.

3.5 Britain and France: 1800 to 1867

Traditionally Britain and France were more preoccupied with solidifying sovereignty in their newly discovered lands than worried about minority rights in their conquests. The British and French, driven by the capitalist need for colonization and profits, had fought many wars in the attempt to gain dominance

over world resources. It is apparent that these wars had powerful repercussions for Canada when the British sought to gain dominance (Driedger, 1989: 40).

The so-called War of 1812 (in fact 1812-1814) was a fight for British colonial survival against American invasion. Officially, the war was between the U.S. and Great Britain, but it focused on the defense of Britain's North American colonies rather than on Britain itself. Most of the fighting took place in the border regions between the U.S. and Upper and Lower Canada (present-day Ontario and Quebec):

> After the War of 1812, …welcome to American settlers was cancelled. Instead of American immigration, Canadian officials now sought British settlers because the war had focused attention to acquire more settlers… with British sympathies. (Knowles, 1989: 28, 9)

The end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 marked the beginning of British migration in which hundreds of thousands of people left Europe to find new homes. Most went to the United States, but many journeyed to British North America, to Upper Canada, or Canada West as it was known after the Act of Union in 1841. These immigrants built new businesses and institutions and reinforced British customs, values, and trade.

The first three staple trades of fish, fur, and timber were important to opening North American economic activity, but it was agricultural settlement that established larger-scale settlement in the new lands. Immigration from Britain caused the colony's population to grow from less than 500,000 in 1812 to approximately 2.4 million in 1850 (Knowles, 1997: 30).

3.6.0 Push - Pull Forces

Two forces acting on migration will be termed "push-pull" factors. A variety of national and global factors have influenced immigration to Canada. It is likely, however, that those who arrived in the 19th and early 20th centuries were more "pushed" than "pulled" to the rugged Canadian frontier.

3.6.1 Push factors

A mélange of reasons such as wars, famine, and unemployment have caused groups to emigrate from their countries of origin. In the post-Napoleonic period (after 1815), several "push" factors combined to encourage emigration from the British Isles. "None however could eclipse the Scottish Highland chiefs' uprooting of their tenants [between 1785 and 1850] to provide pasturage for sheep, whose mutton and wool brought higher returns than rents" (Knowles, 1997: 31). Another factor causing many to emigrate to the New World was overpopulation in England and Scotland. There had been repeated failures of the potato crop in the Scottish Highlands, and changes in the manufacturing sector also predisposed many to emigrate. In the 18th century the textile industry shifted from handicraft to machine methods, and the decline of the cotton industry and changes in the metal industries sealed the fate of countless other workers. "In the wake of peace [after the Napoleonic wars] came the demobilization of fighting men, the slow-down of the industries that had supported the war effort, and soaring unemployment" (Knowles, 1997: 31). These events all contributed to a

magnitude of social and political unrest and economic turmoil. [2] These "push" factors compelled thousands to emigrate to British North America.

3.6.2 Pull factors and promotional efforts

A number of extraneous factors may attract a group of people to a new region, such as the hope of a better way of life or the opportunity to prosper. Foremost among landlords who promoted settlement in British North America in the first two decades of the 19th century was the Earl of Selkirk, Thomas Douglas. His most notable colonizing venture was the launching of the first farming settlement in the Northwest, the Red River Colony (MacNutt, 1965: 117). This small community was located on land acquired from the Hudson's Bay Company in 1811.

The beginning of the Canadian Immigration Service can be traced to the 1820s. In this decade the British Government introduced the Passenger Act of 1828, which defrayed the expense of persons of approved character wishing to proceed to Upper Canada. A Chief Immigration Agent was appointed for Quebec, as well as a network of agents in other centres. The cost of this operation was initially born by the British Government, but in 1854, the cost was assumed by the Government of the Province of Canada.

[2] "Paradoxically, the War of 1812 had revived Britain's interests in promoting emigration to her North American colonies. The necessity of defending the distant outposts of the empire led the British Government to conclude that they must strengthen their position with an infusion of loyal and trustworthy subjects. If immigration could provide British North America with a larger British population, the colonies would be in less danger of being absorbed by their overpowering neighbour to the south. To discourage further American immigration into British North America, Lord Bathurst, a British diplomat, ordered that no land be granted to subjects of the United States and that every effort be made to prevent their settling in either Upper or Lower Canada" (Craig, 1963: 88).

Land companies also contributed to early settlement by British immigrants. The Canada Company was the most successful - while two others were the British American Land Company, and the New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Land Company. The Canada Company acquired over two million acres of land in Upper Canada, for which it made annual payments to the province of Canada between 1827 and 1843:

> As part of an aggressive marketing campaign, the company placed agents in key British ports and distributed a barrage of publicity material. As a result, Upper Canada became known as a destination fit not only for the poor but also for men of capital…of education and intelligence. The company injected new vigor into land settlement until the expiry of its contract in 1843. (Knowles, 1997: 36)

To encourage emigration, the British Government routinely made the cost of passage to Canada lower than fares to American ports, and provided free transportation on barges up the St. Lawrence River to emigrants who declared their intention of settling in Canada. It was estimated that about two-thirds of those who arrived at the docks at Quebec in the 1820s and 1830s were from Ireland, two-thirds of the remainder were from England, and approximately one-tenth of all the new arrivals hailed from Scotland (Knowles, 1997: 39). Most were destined for Upper Canada and in this phase of immigration the Maritimes were largely bypassed because most of its last frontiers were occupied by 1838.

Upper Canada had attracted the majority of immigrants destined for British North America, but once the immigrants arrived, most of them kept moving until they entered the United States. It has been estimated that of the 120,000 people that arrived at Quebec between 1816 and 1828, three-quarters of them crossed over to the U.S. (Knowles, 1997: 42-43). This diversion of Canadian immigrants

to the U.S. continued until the end of the 19th century, when the American frontier was declared closed and the majority of available U.S. land was occupied.

French Canadians saw themselves under constant threat from Lower Canada's English-speaking minority, whose members ran the economy and the executive branch of the Government, and controlled the Legislative Council. For French Canadians, this threat was personified by the so-called British Party that controlled the levers of power. Jonathan Sewell, son of the chief justice of Lower Canada, wrote to Sir James Craig, then governor of both Canadas. Sewell stated that French Canadians were

> … still French; their habits, religion and laws are still those of French men and absolutely opposed to the habits of our people. The chief justice went on to recommend that French Canadians be assimilated by means of large British immigration …[and] through the union of both Canadas so as to place French Canadians in a minority position. (Knowles, 1997: 41)

In 1838, John Lambton, the first Earl of Durham, was assigned the responsibility of deciding what form of Government to install in the Canadas. Lambton studied the situation and concluded

> … that the perennial feud between the French and English could only be ended by impressing an English character on Lower Canada, and that could be achieved … by submerging the French Canadians in an intercolonial union followed up by a judicious system of colonization. Immigration, in other words, should be used as an effective barrier against the recurrence of many of the existing evils…in short, as one of several tools for assimilating a people. (Knowles, 1997: 42)

In the 1850s, the colony's principal concern was still the recruitment of immigrants, particularly suitable British ones. Landmark steps were made in 1859 when agents were dispatched to England, and in 1860 to Germany, to open offices and begin promotion work. These immigration salesmen targeted agriculturists and promoted the emigration of small farmers and agricultural labourers:

> Like their predecessors these agents … had done much to stamp the character of Canada between 1760 and 1867. (Knowles, 1997: 46)

During the 1865 Confederation debates, the encouragement of immigration was seen as one of the principal benefits of the union of the British North American colonies. George Brown, founder of the Globe newspaper in Toronto, put it to cheers of listeners

> The larger our population, the greater will be our productions, the more valuable our exports, and the greater our ability to develop the resources of our country… Double our population and we will at once be in a position to meet promptly and effectually any invader who may put his foot with hostile intent upon our soil. (Whitaker, 1991: 3)

The British administration had laid the foundations of the Canadian Confederation so that Britain became the legal and dominant force in the shaping of the Dominion (Driedger, 1989: 22).

3.7 Immigration Post-Confederation (1867-1896)

The British North America (BNA) Act, of July 1st 1867, established British laws and institutions in Upper Canada. In Lower Canada, the French retained civil law. On this date, the Fathers of Confederation congratulated themselves on having achieved the new federal union. For John A. Macdonald, a Conservative and Canada's first Prime Minister, it was essential

> … that the West be brought into Confederation as quickly as possible in view of the threat posed by the ambitions of Canada's southern neighbour. It was most urgent that British Columbia and the domains of the Hudson's Bay Company be incorporated into Canada. Closely tied to this was the need to promote large-scale immigration into the sparsely settled plain between the Lakehead and the Rockies. The Canadian Government realized the need to encourage immigrants to come to Canada. This became more imperative with the acquisition of the HBC territory in the North-West in 1870. By the transfer agreement, Canada acquired a vast empire of extensive resources with a relatively sparse population. (Knowles, 1997: 45)

The BNA Act made immigration the concurrent responsibility of both the Federal and Provincial Governments. The Federal and Provincial Governments decided to jointly share the responsibility for Immigration as conveyed in Section 95 of the BNA Act, which was also known as the Constitution Act of 1867. In 1868, the federal Government assumed almost complete responsibility for Government immigration activities. Despite this enhanced stature, Immigration would not rate a department of its own, and from 1867 to 1892 Immigration was under the jurisdiction of the Department of Agriculture.

Measures were taken to enhance the emigration agent network and its efforts to advertise Canada to prospective immigrants. Immigration salesmen targeted farmers with capital, agricultural labourers, and female domestics, preferably from Great Britain, the United States, and northern Europe, in that order. Macdonald himself was clear as to whom he would target in any immigrant recruitment program. He informed the House of Commons that a Scottish agent would be appointed, "Scotch emigration being as a rule, of the very best class" (Knowles, 1997: 48).

In 1869 Parliament passed Canada's first Immigration Act dealing with immigration matters. In 1872 the Act was amended to prohibit the entry of criminals and other "vicious classes" into Canada and in 1879 an Order excluded "paupers" and the "destitute." With these amendments, the pattern was set for future Canadian Immigration Policy. The Policy evolved gradually in that it was implemented largely by amendments to the existing Act. This enabled the Government to put new policies into effect quickly, usually in response to

pressure either from the general public or vested interests. These changes usually involved altering immigration admission for certain groups, most notably the Chinese from between 1885 and 1923, Eastern Europeans in 1896 and 1906, and various European and Asian peoples during World War 1 (WWI) as it was later called.

3.8 The National Policy

The National Policy, introduced by Sir John A. Macdonald in 1867, refers collectively to the combination of tariff, railway, land, and immigration policies developed after Confederation. It can be represented with four main elements. One was Confederation (1867) itself. The second was the building of the CPR Transcontinental, which established a transportation system from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The third was the acquisition and settling of the prairie lands to establish agriculture that would complement and support industry of central Canada. Finally, it was a policy that protected domestic manufacturing through tariffs on imported manufactured goods.

The National Policy was the term given to the general strategy of nation-building and its intent was to produce commercial and industrial prosperity on the new agricultural frontier (Macintosh, 1934):

> Grain would be the export staple, and in turn, the derived demand of the agricultural population for goods and services would generate economic linkages. It was a plan of action to transform the country into a viable transcontinental nation. The National Policy fostered secondary industry and the transcontinental railway, while western settlement produced a national interdependent economy where one region supplied the needs of the others (Dales, 1972: 141).

3.9 Canada-U.S. relations: (1867-1896)

The American Civil War (1861-1865) had strained relations between the United States and Britain. Since Canada was closely tied to Britain for defense, and was its principal colony, it did not escape the prevalent anti-British feelings in the United States. A Joint High Commission, made up of five American and five British members, was set up in 1870 to meet in Washington to discuss the outstanding issues that had caused the deterioration of their relations. Sir John A. Macdonald was appointed as one of the five British commissioners, and although he was Canada's Prime Minister since 1867, his duties were those of a Commissioner and not of a Prime Minister. In 1871, he signed the Washington Treaty which eased friction between Canada and the United States and established the principle of arbitration as a means of resolving international conflicts.

From 1880 to 1900, the U.S. population increased by about 25 percent each decade: from 50 million in 1880 to 75 million in 1900. During the same period, the Canadian population increased by an average of about 1 percent per year (Knuttila, 1993: 9). At a time when there was plenty of free or cheap land in Canada, the United States almost exhausted its free land. In 1890 the American Department of Interior stated that the U.S.A. no longer had a frontier in that country. Following these conditions, a large number of Americans crossed the border and took homesteads in Canada. This influx again worried Canadian and British politicians. Their presence might contribute to annexation to the U.S. Canadian Immigration agents continued urging large-scale British immigration to offset the American influence, and to safeguard Canada for the Empire.

The immigration factor was important to population growth as there were two periods of net emigration before the turn of the 19th century. Between 1871 and 1891, more people had left Canada for the United States, than entered Canada through immigration (Driedger, 1989: 71).

After 1896, recurring and new U.S.-Canadian relation problems transpired. Recurring problems included issues of boundary, trade, and fishing rights. New problems emerged with Canada's moving toward a greater degree of national identity and autonomy. Canada was still a colony and

> did not have diplomatic relations with other countries in the same sense that Canada and other nations have today. When Treaties were arranged between a foreign country and any member of the Empire, the actual settlements were concluded by British diplomats. (Herstein, 1970: 302) [3]

3.10 Summary of the Macdonald era: (1867-1892)

Canada's first Immigration Act remained virtually intact during the Macdonald era (1867-1892):

> Canada had an enormous space to populate, and the Immigration Policy had assumed that the forces of supply and demand for population would spontaneously produce equilibrium. With a laissez-faire policy, nature was simply allowed to take its presumed course, with only modest promotional assistance. (Manpower, 1974: 4)

By 1885, however, only 8.8% of the eventual total net homesteads had been recorded in the Dominion township registers by the Land Branch agents, and by 1900 only 20% (Norrie, 1979: 239-40). The vast majority of free homestead entries were made after 1900.

[3] The signing of the Indian Treaties in the 1870s had also been carried out by representatives of the Queen (section 4.5.3).

3.11.0 The Laurier Era: 1896 to 1911

Sir Wilfred Laurier, a Liberal, was elected Prime Minister in 1896. During this era Canada reached another threshold. In 1901, Canadians of British origin comprised 57% of the population, while the French accounted for 30.7% (Breton, Reitz & Valentine, 1980: 65). The remainder was Indian, Asian, African, and other people of European ethnicity. A central problem within the Dominion was relations between French and English-speaking Canadians. These tensions were related to the growth of French-Canadian nationalism and the English-Canadian devotion to the bonds of Great Britain. The result was a divided feeling towards the British Empire.

3.11.1 Clifford Sifton (1896-1905)

Clifford Sifton of Brandon, Manitoba, represented the Canadian West in the Laurier cabinet and was Minister of Interior responsible for Western expansion. Sifton's main contribution was his administrative overhaul of Immigration.

Tradition and sentiment toward post-Confederation Immigration Policy during the Macdonald era had favoured immigration from Britain, the United States, and to a lesser extent from Northern and Western Europe. During the Laurier era, Sifton was initially consistent with this desired tradition, and sought the experienced farmers from the United States, and the land-hungry people of the United Kingdom. When these efforts failed to produce enough immigrants, he did not hesitate to turn to new sources of supply: the countries of Eastern and Southern Europe. These included the citizens of Germany and those from the

Austro-Hungarian Empire that included Hungarians, Poles, Romanians, Czechs, Slovaks, Ukrainians, Italians, and Greeks. Sifton stated

> When I speak of quality I have in mind something that is quite different from what is in the mind of the average writer or speaker upon the question of immigration. I think that a stalwart peasant in a sheepskin coat, born to the soil, whose forefathers have been farmers for ten generations, with a stout wife and a half-dozen children, is good quality. (Knowles, 1997: 68)

A commission system was instituted with payment for immigrants that were delivered to Canada. Under contract to Sifton, a clandestine group of shipping agents known collectively as the North Atlantic Trading Company (NATC) distributed thousands of promotional cards.[4] The cards, (Figure 3.1) printed in the Croatian, Ukrainian, and Czech languages, advertised 160 acres (63 hectares) of free land in Canada. They were circulated by mail in Central and Eastern Europe between 1900 and 1905.

Figure 3.1 Advertising cards 1900 to 1905 (National Archives, 2004 C-80140).

[4] In Europe there was often resistance to the emigration of their peoples. To avoid foreign conflict, the Canadian Government formed a secret agreement with a German steamship company. The syndicate's operations and its members' names were kept secret because most European countries had restrictive emigration laws, and some agents involved in immigration propaganda were liable to prosecution.

The secrecy surrounding the NATC's members, and the generous bonuses they received for sending suitable agricultural workers to Canada, were vigorously attacked in Parliament by the Conservative opposition. Some Western Liberal Members of Parliament (MPs) were also strongly critical, including the Edmonton MP Frank Oliver, who later succeeded Clifford Sifton as Minister responsible for Immigration.

"English-speaking Canadians were concerned about the flood of foreigners into their midst … and feared the newcomers would not be easily assimilated into the Canadian way of life" (Herstein, 1970: 292). Many of these non-English groups preserved their cultural backgrounds. They formed a third segment between the two so-called "founding nations."

Laurier and Sifton believed in wide-open immigration, but under countervailing pressures, they recognized that their Policy of unrestricted access to Canada had to be checked. Sifton began to refine the admission policy to reflect contemporary concerns. One of his principles was that immigration should not swell the urban population. He hoped to avoid the problems of overcrowding and unemployment that had emerged in American cities. There was nothing in the law to prevent the admission of city workers; however, his approach was reflected in the Alien Labour Act (1897) which was designed to prevent Canadian employers from importing contract labourers from certain countries (Manpower, 1974: 7).

Group immigration was encouraged, making possible the entrance of substantial numbers of non-English and non-French immigrants to Canada

(Driedger, 1989: 73). The Sifton era marked a decisive turning point in Immigration Policy. The door was not only open much wider than before, but the Government was making sure that more people were actually being drawn in through it (Whitaker, 1991: 7-8). He was convinced of the need for massive agricultural immigration to promote general Canadian prosperity and the growth of a truly national economy. The Immigration Policy had been stagnant for thirty years by failing to attract substantial numbers. In 1904, Sifton stated his theme

> I have to say a word as to what we expect western Canada will do for itself. But it will not be enough that it shall do only for itself. It is a portion of Canada. Canada is a national entity. Canada is an organism, and you cannot develop a single part of an organism satisfactorily. Each and all parts must contribute to the vitality of the whole. What then will western Canada do for the Canadian organism? It will give a vast and profitable traffic to its railways and steamship lines and in so will give remunerative employment to tens of thousands of men. It will build our Canadian seaports and it will create a volume of ocean traffic which will place Canada in its proper position as a maritime nation. The things which the west will do for the east I may say in a word… it will send a flood of new blood from one end of this great country to the other, through every artery of commerce. (Knuttila, 1994: 8)

A year later Prime Minister Laurier spoke to the Canadian Manufacturers Association in similar terms:

> They [the settlers filling up the prairie West] will require clothes, they will require furniture, they will require implements… and I hope you can furnish them to them… they will require everything that man has to be supplied with. It is your ambition…that every shoe that has to be worn in those prairies shall be a Canadian shoe; that every yard of cloth that can be marketed there shall be a yard of cloth produced in Canada; and so on and so on. (MacKirdy, Moir, & Zoltvany, 1971: 234-5)

3.11.2 Frank Oliver (1905-1911)

Under Frank Oliver, a withdrawal from the "open door" for immigrants of non-British origin was witnessed. This change in Policy reflected a growing backlash against foreign or alien immigrants. Oliver argued that

> It is not merely a question of filling the country with people… It is a question of the ultimate results of the efforts put forward for the building up of a Canadian nationality… This can never be accomplished if the preponderance of the population should be of such a class and character as will deteriorate rather than elevate the condition of our people and our country at large. (Whitaker, 1991: 8)

Oliver reminded his listeners that immigrants were not here just for the economic advantage of Canada, but that they were destined for Canadian citizenship as well. This caution was reinforced by a popular belief of the age that racial origin was the determining factor in the capacity of foreigners to assimilate into the Canadian community. By 1906, amendments to the free entry Policy included:

- expanded immigration service and control along the Canada-U.S. border
- the exclusion of criminals and the physically and mentally infirmed
- the deportation of immigrants that became criminals, and
- making of Regulations specifying the amount of "landing money" immigrants must have in their possession. (Manpower, 1974: 8)

The Immigration Act was again revised in 1910, mainly to improve its administration and enforcement. The Deputy Minister (soon to become Prime Minister) William Lyon Mackenzie King, summarized the situation to the Estimates Committee in 1910:

> the policy of the Department at the present time is to encourage the immigration of farmers, farm labourers, and female domestic servants from the United States, the British Isles, and certain Northern European countries, namely, France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Germany, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Iceland. (Manpower, 1974: 9)

3.12 Immigration and World War 1 (1914-1918)

By 1914, the ethnic fabric of Canada was decidedly changed by the large inflows of immigrants from other than Britain and the United States. The war cut off virtually all emigration from Europe. It was expected that the end of hostilities would mean resumption of immigration on the pre-war scale, but events belied

these expectations. By 1918, Regulations prohibited admission of people not possessing evidence of exemption of military service. Steps were taken to prohibit the admission of enemy aliens, unskilled labour, and Mennonites, Doukhobors, and Hutterites (Manpower, 1974: 11-12).

The Immigration Branch received departmental status in 1917 with the creation of the Department of Immigration and colonization. Their basic intention to develop the agricultural lands remained the same.

3.13 Summary and profile of importance 1901 to 1931

Governments had preferred to use Regulations rather than Statutes for expressing Policies respecting what classes of people might be admitted to Canada. Regulations could changed relatively easily and quickly while Acts are more difficult and time-consuming to change. As a result, between 1867 and 1974, there have been only three major Immigration Acts and two collateral Acts:

> To a large degree, the Acts have not concerned themselves with the admission of immigrants, but rather with the control of non-Canadians and, to a lesser extent, with the welfare of immigrants before and after their arrival in Canada. (Manpower, 1974: 3)

Canadian Immigration Policy has been one of pragmatic and managed responses to economic needs and goals. Canada has required a steady flow of immigrants since before Confederation, and immigration policies were part of a broader government strategy of nation building. Immigration was planned to meet the requirements of business and to populate vast areas of arable land in the Canadian West. Workers were needed to clear and cultivate the land, build the roads and railroads, extract resources, and build cities.

The magnitude of the settlement process can be illustrated by considering that between 1901 and 1931, the population of present-day Saskatchewan grew from 91,000 to over 920,000. See Figure 3.2 for population totals.

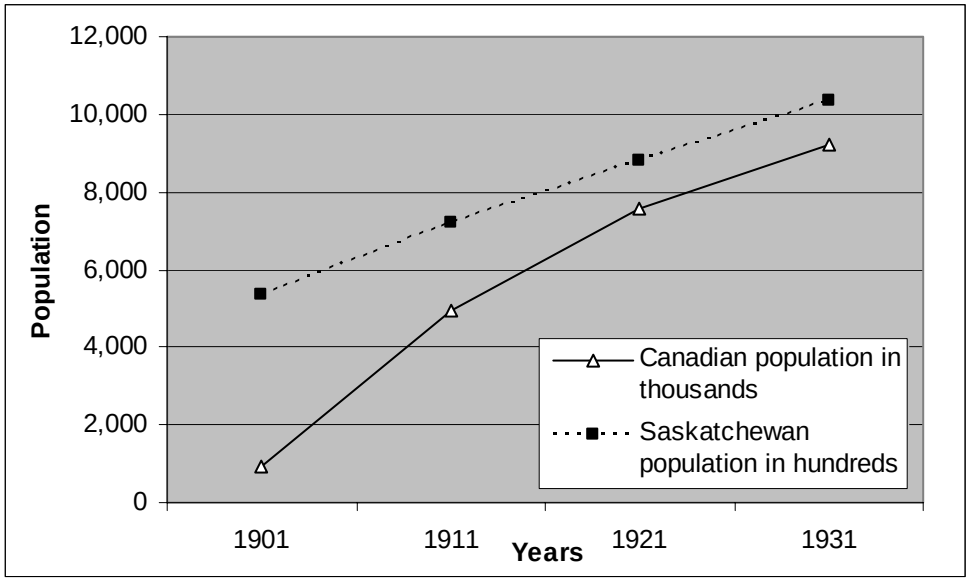


Figure 3.2 Population growth, Canada and Saskatchewan.

Source: Statistics Canada: Historical Statistics of Canada, 11-516-XIE, A2-14, 2004

In 1900, only 20% of the eventual total net homesteads had been recorded, but by 1906, the proportion had reached 51.4%, and by 1914, nearly 89% (Norrie, 1979: 239-40). During the same period, the number of farms in Saskatchewan increased from 13,445 to 136,471, while the total acreage covered by these farms rose from 3,833,434 acres to 55,673,460 acres (Knuttila, 1994: 10).

During the Laurier period, 1896-1911, nearly three million immigrants came to Canada (Figure 3.3). During the two decades from 1901 to 1921, immigration exceeded the natural population increase. Canada's population was 5,371,000 in 1901. The 1,759,000 immigrants that came to Canada during the decade of 1901-1911 increased the population by 28 percent. Almost as many (1,612,000) entered during the decade of 1911-21, increasing the Canadian

population by another 21.2 percent. At the immigration peak in 1913, more than 400,000 immigrants arrived in a single year (Driedger, 1989: 71). In two decades, over 3.3 million immigrants were added to the Canadian population.

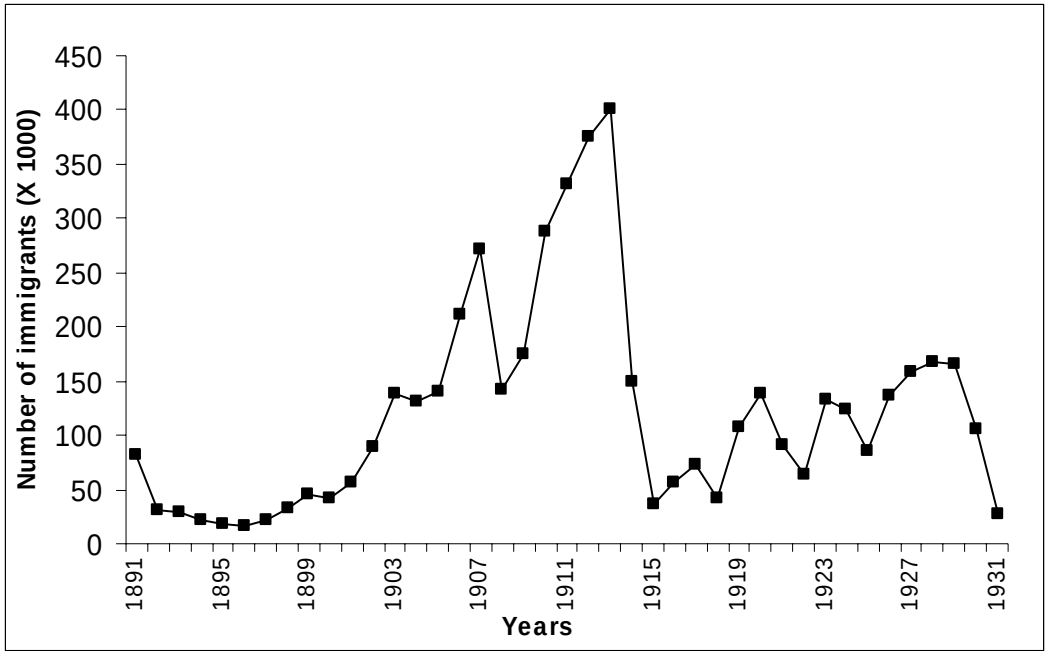


Figure 3.3 Canadian immigration 1891 to 1931.

Source: Statistics Canada: Historical Statistics of Canada, 11-516-XIE, A350, 2005.

Western Canada was deliberately populated by a class of agricultural producers who served a number of specific functions in the Canadian economy. Under the auspices of the National Policy

> it was envisioned that Canada would develop into an industrial nation. The prairie region [and its agrarian population] was to play a central role, producing cash crops for export and serving as a captive, tariff-protected market for manufactured goods. As the west was settled, the transportation system developed an infrastructure to handle the grain, which also served as the distribution network to facilitate the sale of manufactured goods to farmers. (Knuttila, 1994: 13)

Substantial contingents now represented nearly all the peoples of Europe. The years from the beginning of the 20th century to the First World War were clearly the most significant years in Canada's immigration history (Manpower,

1974: 10-11). In 1936, the Immigration Service was placed under the Department of Mines and Resources. The Government's basic intentions changed after the Western lands were occupied and after the Great Depression of the 1930s made farming seem less attractive (Corbett, 1979: 453).

Immigration policies had defined access to Canadian society and controlled the rate and social composition of the flow of people into the country. This had affected both the size and characteristics of the population. The British group was comprised of the English, Scottish, Irish, and Welsh. The English immigrant population to Canada was usually twice as large as the Scottish, Irish, and Welsh combined (Driedger, 1989: 93).

In Canadian history, the British and French are known as the "charter groups," while the designation of "other" refers an aggregate of ethnicities and races from non-charter groups. The non-charter European group had entered Canada well after the coming of the charter groups. The majority of them came to open up the West and encountered a country where the political and economic patterns had been earlier established by the charter groups. This non-charter group presence mushroomed and formed the most multicultural region of Canada. They have created a non-charter majority in some of the Western provinces, including Saskatchewan (Driedger, 1989: 128).

Chapter four

4.0 Land Acts and Policies

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will first provide a brief history of orthogonal[5] land planning and will include the establishment of provincial and other political boundaries in Canada during the period of study (1867 to 1931). This chapter will examine the Acts and Policies that administered the lands in Western Canada after Confederation. It will include a detailed explanation of the Dominion Land's survey, the Dominion Land's Act, and the Homestead Act which regulated the dispersal of the agricultural land to the settlers. It will introduce the first inhabitants of Canada, the natives, and will describe how the various administrations dealt with the aboriginal hosts and the lands.

4.2.0 A History of orthogonal land planning

A brief history of orthogonal land planning provides a background to the method of land planning that was applied in Canada. It will be apparent that the history of humankind can be seen as an on-going need to define boundaries and the human tendency has been to draw boundaries and compartmentalize. A wide

[5] The term orthogonal is a term used to describe two axes which are perpendicular to each other, and can describe a set composed at right angles.

range of representations of orthogonal patterns and the Cartesian grid system have emerged over time. Old forms of land use have produced structures such as field divisions, roads and paths, and water control systems. A survey of orthogonal planning gives perspective in understanding how that heritage contributed to the Dominion Land's survey and present-day landscapes.

4.2.1 Ancient cities

> Urban civilization had first appeared along
>
> > the Nile, Tigris-Euphrates and the Indus rivers between 10,000 and 5,000 years ago. The first sign of systematic city planning in the history of civilization, is an orthogonal grid plan of straight streets, appearing in Indus cities (Mohenjo-Daro) in 2400 BCE. (Akkerman, 1998: 9)

In the town planning of the 7th century BCE, the Greeks also used rectilinear shapes deliberately built upon parallel contours (Akkerman, 1998: 9 and 38).

Syracuse, off the coast of Sicily and founded in 734 BCE, grew in an orderly and closely orthogonal pattern and Ionian expansion in the 6th century BCE had employed city planning to utilize the measurement of right angles to parcel out land. Orthogonal patterns were laid out with north-south running avenues and east-west running streets that intersected perpendicularly. This planning was extended to the Greek city Olynthus founded in 432 BCE

> …(with) several major avenues flawlessly laid out in the north-south direction, intersected at regular intervals by streets running perpendicularly east to west. (Akkerman, 1998: 46)

4.2.2 Alexandria

The Greek units of measurement differed from one city to another and in the case of Alexandria, the street grid measured 167 meters. The fixing of this unit has enabled modern proponents of theories about urbanism at Alexandria to

divide up the blocks of houses following a regular pattern (Empereur, 1998: 57-61). This is attested by the Greek philosopher Philo in the 1st century AD.

The Alexandrian streets were numbered using a system which is used in contemporary survey grids. R1 to R8 were used for the streets running from north to south, and L1 to L5, for those on the east-west axis (Empereur, 1998: 61).

4.2.3 The Romans

By the 2nd century BCE, Roman towns began to embrace the orthogonal planning of the Greek cities. The land of a Roman *colonia* in the 1st century AD was surveyed by *centuriation*.[6] Their purpose was to define and register in a cadastre, the individual's holdings (Peterson, 1996: 1).

A *cadastre* was a land information system established to divide up the agricultural lands given to the colonist. The centuriation process divided the territory into rectangular plots, usually 125 acres (50 hectares) each, and centuriation was laid outwards from the center. Two roads intersected at this center (O): the *kardo maximus* (north-south street) and *decumanus maximus* (east-west street). The other roads were parallel to these (Figure 4.1).

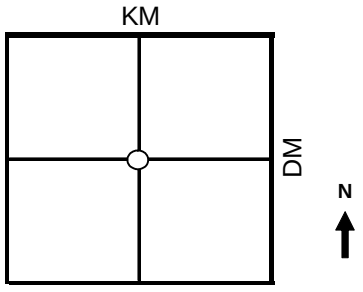


Figure 4.1 The centuriation kardo maximus (KM) and decumanus maximus (DM).

[6] Centuriation was a form of surveying (limitatio) in which the lands were divided into squares. It was a legal requirement to do so.

The grid was laid out over the entire colony, making the cities and territories orthogonal in plan. Two examples of such colonies in Italy were Ostia (350 BCE) and Cosa (273 BCE).

4.2.4 The Renaissance

The colonies of antiquity are sometimes cited as the ultimate source for medieval orthogonal designs (Friedman, 1988: 55). Orthogonality was also the basis of the Florentine new-town design in 14th century Italy. Straight streets were considered beautiful and town planners combined them in parallel and perpendicular relationships. During the Renaissance, surveyors developed techniques that allowed them to accurately construct geographic and urban design maps.

4.2.5 The Cartesian grid

The Dominion Land's range and township survey (forthcoming in section 4.6) was based on the Cartesian grid method.[7] The modern Cartesian coordinate system in two dimensions is commonly defined by two axes at right angles to each other. The horizontal axis is labeled "x" and the vertical axis is labeled "y". In the early 19th century the third dimension of measurement was added, using the "z" axis.

The axes are defined as mutually orthogonal to each other and all the points in a Cartesian coordinate system taken together form a Cartesian plane**.** To specify a particular point on a two dimensional coordinate system, one would

[7] *Cartesian* means relating to Rene Descartes (1596-1650), a French mathematician and philosopher whose work influenced the development of analytic geometry, calculus, navigation, and cartography (Dustan & Lope, 1993).

indicate the x unit first (abscissa), followed by the y unit (ordinate) in the form (x,y), an ordered pair.

4.2.6 Eastern Canada and the introduction of the U.S. township system

After the American Revolution, in 1791, the British Government granted land to English Loyalists in the form of "townships", and was the first known use of this term in present-day Canada. Townships were the basic form of land division in what is present-day Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Québec, and Ontario. Townships were typically 16 kilometers on each side and divided into basic units laid out in a general checkerboard pattern (Rayburn, 2003).

The municipal townships (now called estrie) in Ontario and Quebec are also the first order of local administration. In Ontario, groups of townships are united with villages and towns to form a county. The US Public Land Survey System of 1862 was for the most part adopted by the Canadian Dominion Lands survey for western Canada in 1872.

4.3.0 The Dominion Land's Survey (1872)

4.3.1 Introduction

The Canadian grid system of land description is known as the Dominion Land Survey (DLS). The DLS exists primarily in what is present-day Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and parts of British Columbia. It has since shaped the form of Canadian settlements, both rural and urban, and has influenced the patterns of land development across Western Canada.

The "pre-survey" European colonization activities in western Canada were all but wiped out by the DLS. There are a number of areas in the Western

provinces that are not part of the DLS system. These areas were occupied before the DLS, and include lands that were used for Hudson's Bay Company posts, a number of small towns and hamlets, and a limited number of river lots. These river lots shown in Figure 4.2 were surveyed according to the old French plan or seigneural system, consisting of long narrow tracts of land bordering on a navigable water course.

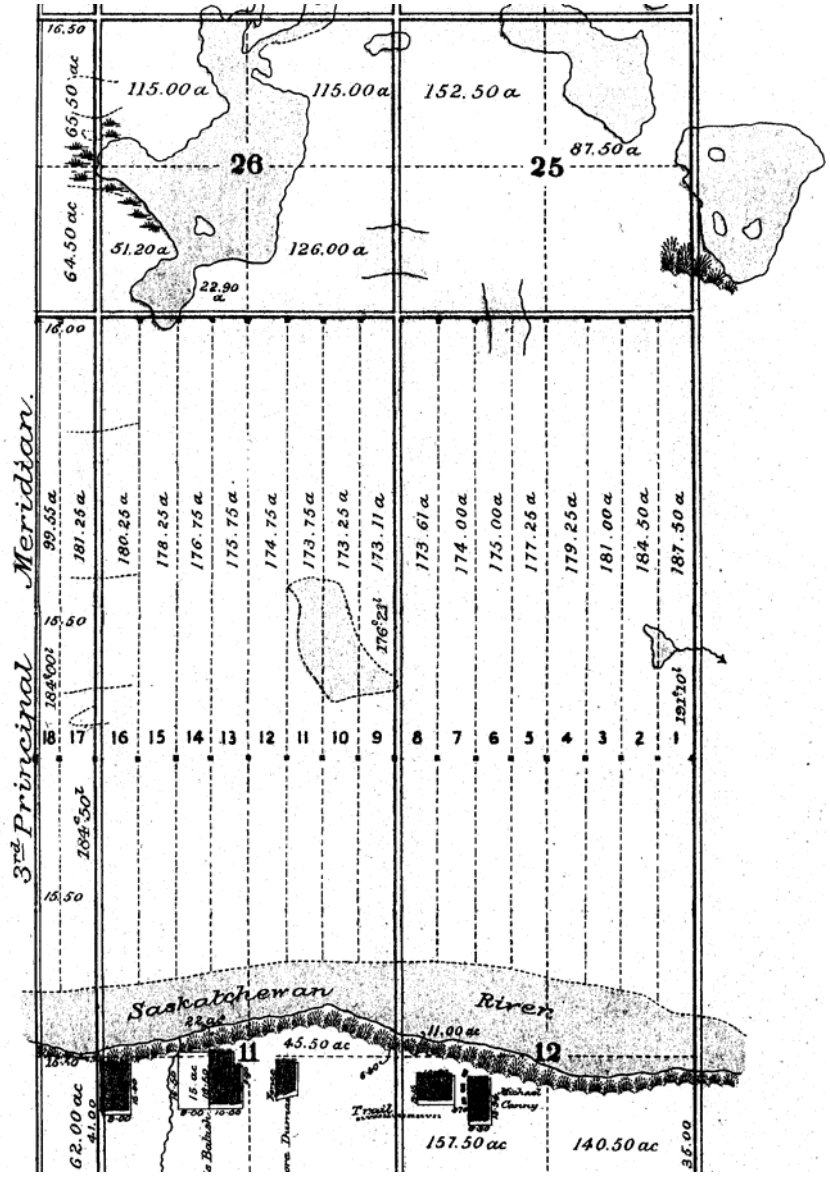


Figure 4.2 River lot and quarter-section survey methods.

Source: Saskatchewan Archives Dominion Lands Map (T45R28W3)

4.3.2 Meridians

The meridian utilizes lines of longitude to provide its framework. In 1869 meridian 1 was established at 97° 27´28.4" west longitude, marking the western limit of agrarian settlement (near Winnipeg Manitoba) to that date. The 1st Meridian is the only meridian of the seven meridians in which agricultural lands can be referred to as being east of a meridian. As the DLS extends westward, surveyors established the 2nd to 7th meridians respectively at 102°, 106°, 110°, 114°, 118°, and 122° west longitude. The 2nd Meridian is virtually the border between present-day Manitoba and Saskatchewan while 4th Meridian formed the present-day Saskatchewan – Alberta border. See Figure 4.3.

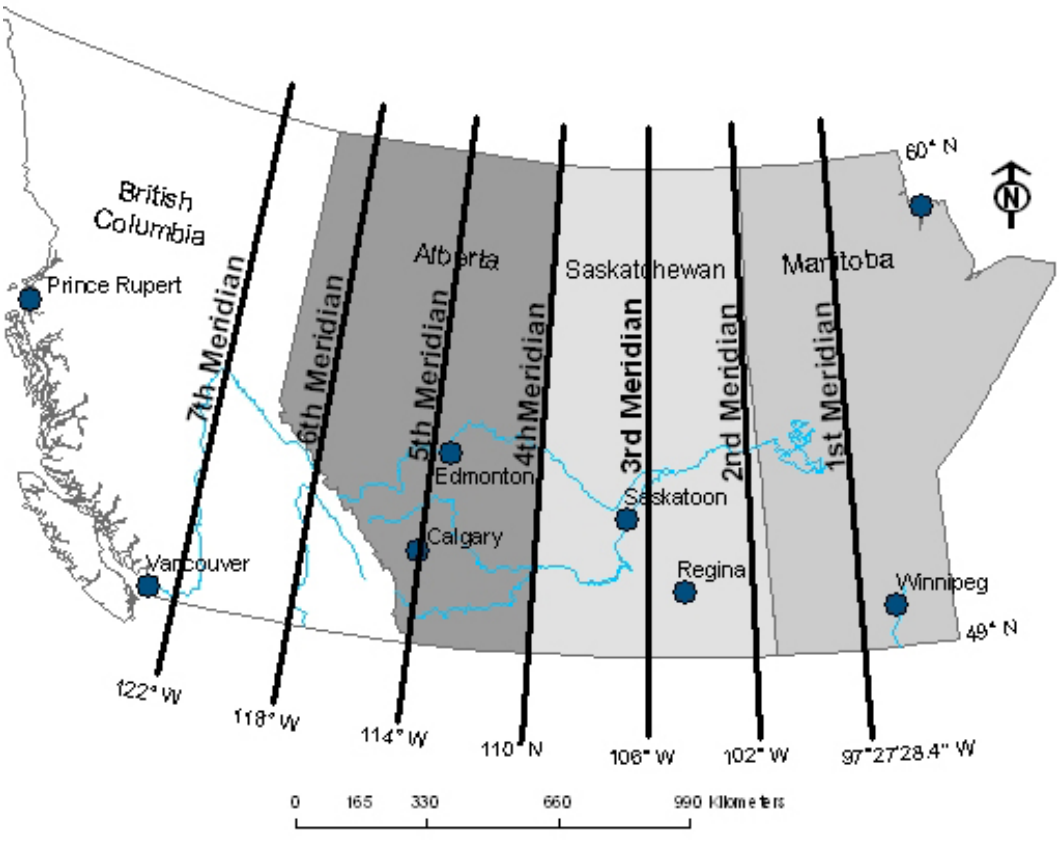


Figure 4.3 The meridians of the DLS.

NAD Projection: NAD83 UTM Zone13N Source: http;//library.usask.ca/ca/data

4.3.3 Ranges and townships

The grid consists of township lines running east and west, and range lines running north and south. Township lines are 6 miles apart and the term "township" (T) is the land between two township lines. They are numbered 1, 2, and 3, and so on from south to north. The 6-mile strip of land running east to west, immediately north of the 49th parallel is numbered township 1 and its southern border is also the Canadian – U.S. border. Township numbers increase going north to T66 which is the agricultural extent in Saskatchewan at about 54° N.

Similarly, range (R) refers to the north-south running strip of land which is also 6 miles wide. The range immediately to the west of any meridian is numbered range 1. Ranges are numbered from east to west up to R30 – where the range numbers begin at 1 again at the next meridian. The range and township lines form a grid of land parcels 6 miles by 6 miles square. Each of these squares of land is also called a township. The term township will hereafter refer to the parcel of land that is 36 miles square. Each township is approximately 23,040 acres (9,325 hectares) (McKercher, 1986). See Figure 4.4 for range and township numbering.

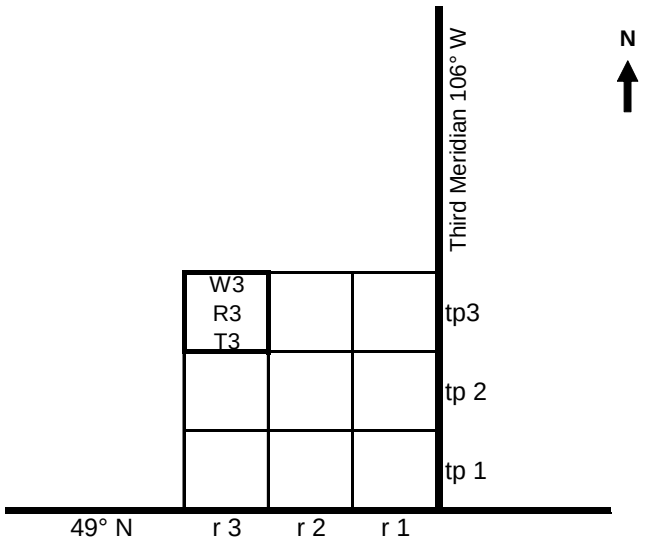


Figure 4.4 Range and township numbering. The bolded township is described as W3R3T3 (West of the 3rd Meridian; Range 3; Township 3). The ordered pair R3T3 is basic to the XY coordinates of the Cartesian grid.

For administrative purposes, townships in Saskatchewan are grouped into larger units called rural municipalities (RMs). Most RMs contain 6 to 9 townships, but can be significantly larger. There are 297 RMs in Saskatchewan and each can be identified with a name and number. An RM is a defined territory incorporated under *The Rural Municipality Act, 1989*. See Figure 4.5 for Saskatchewan RMs and complete range and township lines.

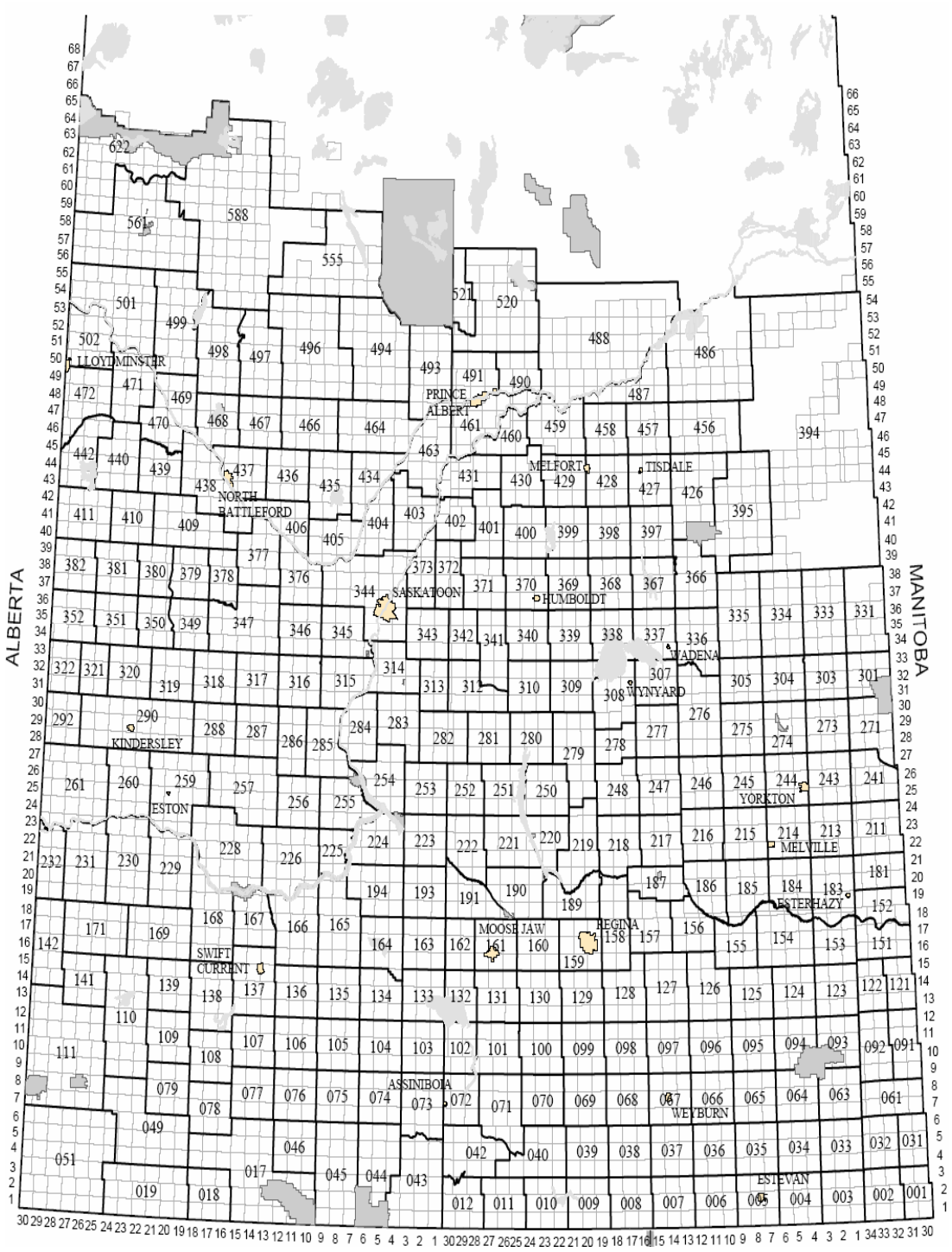


Figure 4.5 Saskatchewan Rural Municipalities and range and township lines (2003).

Source: Municipal Government of Saskatchewan, www.municipal.gov.sk.ca/mrd/mrdmaps.shtml

4.3.4 Sections

Each township is divided into 36 sections that are numbered 1 to 36. Each section is one mile (1.6 kilometers) square and is 640 acres (260 hectares). Each section is further divided into four quarter-sections (qs), each of which is 160 acres (63 hectares), and is described by its compass direction: NE, NW, SE, and SW. See Figure 4.6 for the numbering order and section identification.

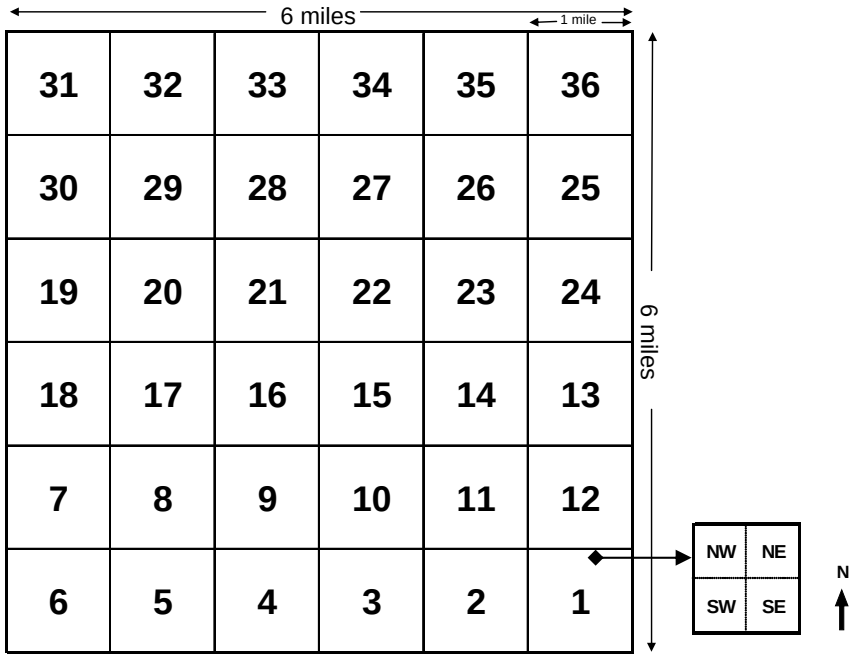


Figure 4.6 The nominal section identification used in all DLS townships.

Sections can be further divided into two other scales: first into 16 legal subdivisions, and second each of these can be divided into quarters of a legal subdivision. Legal subdivisions are 40 acres (16 hectares) and quarters of a legal subdivision 10 acres (4 hectares) are employed in urban centres, or are used in describing mineral and oil deposits. This discussion will not refer to these two grid scales, rather the smallest reference will be to the quarter-sections intended for agricultural purposes.

4.3.5 Correction lines

A problem related to the division into townships and sections was the convergence of lines of longitude in relation to the parallel range lines. The distance between meridians along the 49th parallel is 182 miles (293 kilometers), at the 60th parallel the distance between the same two meridians is reduced to 139 miles (224 kilometers) (McKercher, 1986). This is due to the converging lines of longitude. In the first survey (1869) the lands on the northwest corner of a township had up to 7 acres of land removed from a 160 acre quarter-section.

The second (1880) and third (1881) surveys attempted to accommodate for this conundrum. Corrections were made to the base line of the adjacent northern township by extending the base line westward. The sections immediately south of this correction were still shorter. The jogs in the range lines are cumulative as one moves west, and corrections are made at each meridian. See Figure 4.7 for correction lines.

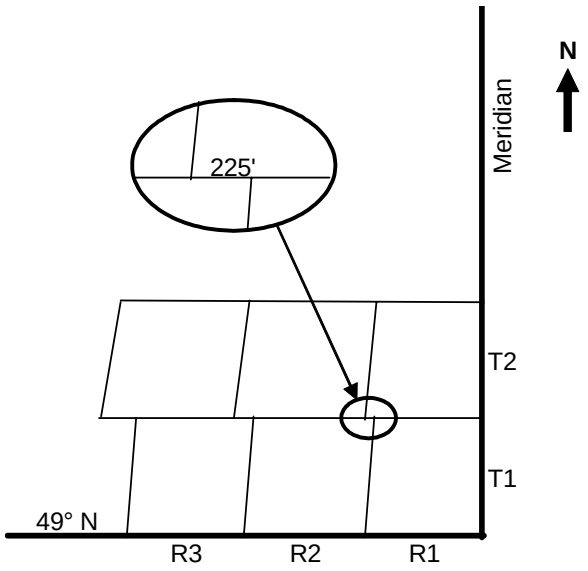


Figure 4.7 Correction lines. Note: scale has been exaggerated. Source: McKercher, 1986

4.4 The DLS proprietary template

The DLS had designated 45% of all its land as homestead land, and 44.5% of its land to the CPR. Railway lands were designated (with exceptions) as the odd-numbered sections within a township, and were granted for the purpose of resale to agriculturists, to offset the costs of railroad construction. School lands (sections 11 and 29 in each township) comprised 5.5% of the DLS, and were granted to the various school districts for the purpose of resale to agriculturists, to finance the construction of schools and to finance their administration. HBC lands comprised 5% of DLS lands within sections 8 and 26 (Lambrecht, 1991: 14). See Figure 4.8 for the DLS land propriety template.

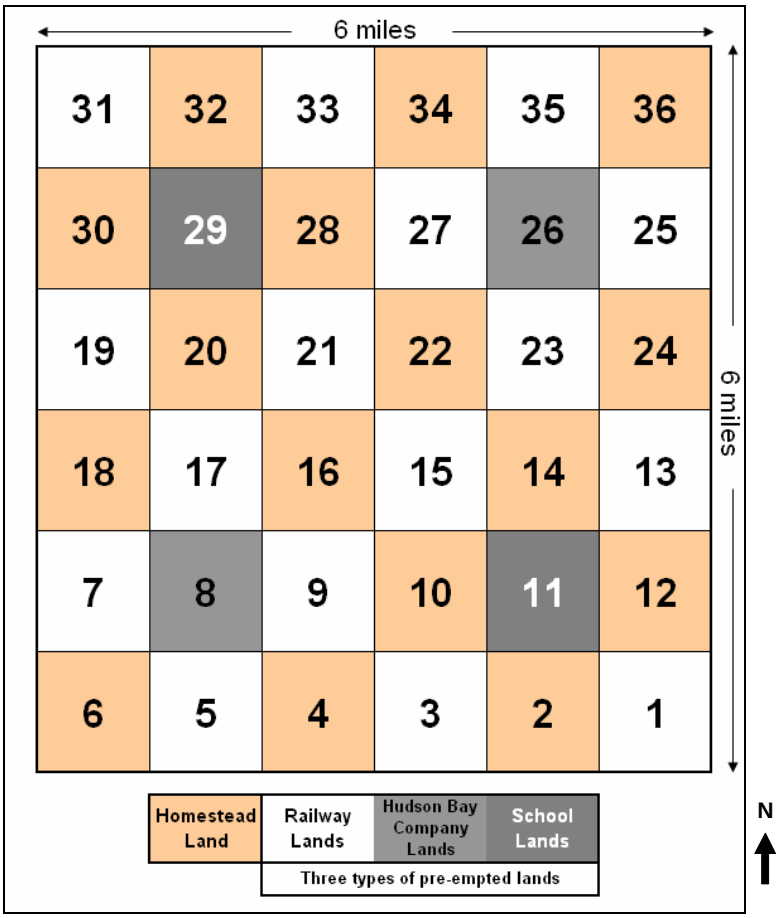


Figure 4.8 DLS proprietary template.

It was the survey that gave the Canadian prairies a distinct land use pattern, but it was the roadways that gave definition to the boundaries of the grid. Road allowances of ninety feet in width were initially surveyed between all sections, however in the 1881 survey the road allowance was reduced to sixty-six feet in width (Lambrecht, 1991: 12). Two of the roads that crossed each township from east to west were dispensed with:

> By this the quantity of land taken up by roads was lessened to an extent that would amount for the cultivable portion of the North-West to about four million of acres, and the cost of the survey diminished by the saving, throughout the whole territory, of that for measurement of the two roads. (Lambrecht, 1991: 12)

Townships that encroached on permanent bodies of water were obviously smaller, or even completely eliminated as dryland acreage. The usual numbering of the remaining sections, however, was not affected.

4.5.0 Land Acts and Policies (1867-1931)

4.5.1 The Dominion Lands Act and the Homestead Act

In eastern Canada, the control over Crown land was a provincial responsibility, while in the west, the Federal Government retained the rights over the disposal of the Crown lands until 1930. The National Policy demanded an active and aggressive federal role to strengthen the link between immigration and agriculture. "The Policy of the Canadian Government with respect to the western lands was clear, it would be used to attract settlers and to help finance the construction of railways" (Whitaker, 1991: 3-4).

With the transfer of Rupert's Land to Canada, the Dominion Government became responsible for the land and resources of this vast territory. To encourage settlement and to begin utilization of the land, the Conservatives introduced the

Dominion Land's Act (1872). This Act set in motion a vast twelve-year land survey, never since equaled. There were over 1.1 million quarter-sections of land in the DLS with a total of over 178 million acres (70 million hectares) of land (McKercher, 1986: 5).

The Dominion Land's Act granted 160 acres of free land to any settler twenty-one years of age or older who paid a $10[8] registration fee, lived on the quarter section for three years, cultivated thirty acres, and build a permanent dwelling (Lambrecht, 1991: 22-3). In 1874 the age requirement was reduced to eighteen years and the residency requirement was extended to five years.

In 1873, the Department of the Interior (DI) was established to administer the land and its resources. The Dominion Lands Branch (DLB) was first established in the Department of the Secretary of State, and later became the nucleus of the new DI. The DLB grew in size and importance as surveys were made and the land became open for settlement. "It was the largest land owner in Canada, with responsible for settling the newcomers and securing orderly growth and development for the Canadian West" (Corbett, 1979: 455).

The DLB had jurisdiction on the Policy of disposing of these lands to individuals in Western Canada. Their records contain detailed information on immigrant group settlements and the development and growth of hamlets, villages, and towns throughout the West. Files were created for each individual homestead which recorded information such as: place of birth, date of immigration, and documentation on the development of the land. The Homestead Act of 1874, which was synonymous with the Dominion Land's Act of 1872, offered

[8] The sign $ as used in this study refers to the Canadian dollar unless otherwise stated.

> a quarter section of land, 160 acres [63 hectares] for a $10.00 registration fee, to those 18 years of age who were prepared to live on the land for a qualifying period of time [3 to 5 years]. The applicant was required to fulfill a minimum cultivation requirement, to discourage all but the genuine settler from obtaining a homestead. (Lambrecht, 1991: 29)

Despite this generous offer, not many settlers were tempted by it in the 1870s and 1880s. Between 1874 and 1896 there were less than 3,000 homestead entries in the entire DLS. Between 1867-95 Canada's annual average of total immigrants was about 51,000 (Manpower, 1974: 4-5).

4.5.2 The Hudson's Bay Company lands

Bringing the West into Confederation proved a difficult task to administer. With the westward movement of American settlers, it became apparent that Canada must either acquire the Northwest or lose it to the United States. The HBC had agreed to give up its governing authority and land with an official transfer date of December 1, 1869. It was to receive 300,000 pounds ($1,500,000), and 45,000 acres of land which comprised 5% of the DLS (Herstein, 1970: 383).

The transfer of Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territories to Canada vested in the federal Government ownership of a vast public domain five times the previous area of the whole Dominion. What began as a mere transfer of land, culminated in the creation of the Dominion's fifth province - Manitoba. The postage stamp province was created in 1870, British Columbia became the sixth province of the Dominion in 1871, and Prince Edward Island became the seventh province to join in 1873.

4.5.3 The Indian Act

The Treaty of Paris in the Royal Proclamation of 1763 provided for the protection of Indian lands from settlers and others until such time as the Indian

rights to the land had been surrendered to the Crown. "It precluded anyone other than the Crown from dealing with Indians for land and laid the basis for the treaty-making process in Canada" (Kovacs, 1979: 5).

The Proclamation led to the establishment, within the BNA Act, of federal rather than provincial responsibility for Indians and Indian lands. This fact which emanated from British colonial policy was the basis for the special status of Indian people within the Canadian federation:

> Even today, no other "people" is named in the Canadian Constitution as being the specific responsibility of either level of Government. This special status led to the passage of the Indian Act of 1867 for the discharge of the Federal responsibility and for the various administrative relationships and Departments which have governed the Indian people since Confederation. (Kovacs, 1979: 1)

Aboriginal peoples tended to see land as a part of the total life experience and insisted that they are a special people with an inherent right to their special status within Canadian society. They are not like other ethnic groups that came voluntarily to this land as this was not their land of adoption - but their historical domain. "Historical records tend to indicate that Indians believed, rightly or wrongly, that they were sharing nature's bounty with the newcomers" (Kovacs, 1979: 13). Later it became more obvious that the newcomers were more numerous than could have been imagined.

The federal Government defined "Indian" in the Constitutional Act of 1867. Patrilineal descent was used to determine who was eligible for registration. In accordance with the Indian Act, persons of native ancestry were Indian if they could trace their descent through the male line to a person originally entitled to be registered as Indian.

Four categories of native persons have emerged from the legal description of an Indian. They are the Status Indians, Non-status Indians, Métis, and Inuit. Status Indians are those entitled to be registered under the Indian Act, of which the majorities are members of a band and have access to land in the form of reservations. Since the Indian Act of 1867, over 500 bands have been organized within over 2,000 reserves (Breton, 1980: 66).

In prairie western Canada, bands surrendered large tracts of land in exchange for reserve lands. They received usually one square mile per family of five, for their exclusive use. Monies derived from the reserve lands were placed in a Crown trust which could not be spent without the consent of the minister of the federal department responsible for administering the Indian Act. These and similar protective provisions have been in all Indian Acts since 1874. "A casual reading of successive Indian Acts reveals that all are basically concerned with the land, who was entitled to use it, how it may be used, and how it and its products may be disposed of" (Breton, 1980: 74).

The Canadian Government had to prepare for the European settlers that were about to enter the territory en masse. As more settlers moved westward, more Treaties were signed as needed (Driedger, 1989: 383). Eleven major treaties known as Treaties 1 to 11 were made in the West, beginning with Treaty 1 in 1871 and ending with Treaty 11 in 1921.

Although Canadian Immigration Policies preferred ethnicities that would easily assimilate to the British culture, there was no choice in the matter of the Indians. The Policies that followed the signing of the Treaties for the Indians

were not those of assimilation, but rather policies of accommodation and domination. “This domination strategy may be regarded as a deliberate and a comprehensive strategy and its development coincided with western expansion and settlement. The reservation system exemplifies the domination strategy” (Breton, 1980: 119-20). The BNA Act (1867) virtually ignored Canada’s aboriginals, and recognized almost no rights for them. Among the most pernicious pieces of legislation was the Indian Act, whereby Indians were virtually denied all of their fundamental rights. (Kallen, 1982: 43) (Driedger, 1989: 370-1) The official aim of the Department of the Interior was

> to instil the values of white society in the Indian population so that they could become self-sufficient. Much time, money and labour was spent attempting to interest and train Indian families in agricultural pursuits. (Archer, 1980: 120-21)

4.5.4 The Non-status Indians and the Métis

The Non-status Indians are those of native ancestry that were denied registration status, and are excluded from the provisions of the Indian Act and the Treaties. They were considered to be the responsibility of provincial or local governments. Non-status Indians constitute three-quarters of the native population and are not recognized as having special status (Breton, 1980: 67). Special status carries with it the rights to certain tracts of lands that have been set aside in perpetuity for those recognized as being an Indian according to the Indian Act.

The Métis are the descendants of inter-racial marriages, predominantly between Indians and those of French or Scottish ancestry. They are in some ways “a special case of non-status Indian and have chosen to be identified as a distinct

people - a new nation" (Driedger, 1989: 380). Macdonald did not share these sentiments of the Métis, and it was clear that he refused to recognize in them the people of a "New Nation." Macdonald said: "If they are Indians - they go with the tribe, if they are half breeds, they are white" (Breton, 1980: 48) (Berger, 1981: 52) (Driedger, 1989: 381).

With exceptions, the Métis control no lands equivalent to those controlled by the status Indians. Prior to the Dominion survey the Métis lived in sparsely populated remote areas, and regarded the land on which they lived and used for generations as belonging to them. Governments have disputed this claim, viewing them as having no legal title, and as being merely squatters on Crown lands.

In preparation for the Canadian Government takeover of the Hudson's Bay Company lands in 1869, a team of surveyors was sent to stake the land. The inhabitants of the Red River settlement were incensed that the transfer of the Northwest Territory would take place without any consultation with the Red River inhabitants involved. Furthermore, Treaty 1 included land at the forks of the Red and Assinaboine rivers, the heart of the Métis region. The Métis nation was dislodged from its power base and many Métis left the area and settled in what is present-day central Saskatchewan.

Fifteen years later, in 1885, the Northwest Rebellion was ignited in Batoche by a clash between a force of North West Mounted Police and a band of Métis led by Louis Riel and Gabriel Dumont. The Federal Government responded by sending in 5,000 troops to crush the Métis and Louis Riel. The effects of the

rebellion extended across Canada and easterners saw the Métis uprisings as a threat. Riel was captured, convicted of treason and hanged in 1885.

Politically and philosophically, Riel's execution has had a lasting effect on Canadian history. In the West, the immediate result was to depress the lot of the Métis, while in central Canada, French Canadian nationalism was strengthened. In the longer term, as a result of Riel's execution, Québec voters moved from their traditional support of the Conservative Party to the Liberal Party led by Wilfrid Laurier. Riel and his fate excited political debate, particularly in Québec and Manitoba, where Riel's execution remained a contentious issue for French Canadians and the Métis (Stanley, 2004**).**

Part 2 Observations and analysis of government and corporate land and rail policies.

Chapter five

5.0 The Railways

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will include discussion on the third primary component of settlement – the Railways. The relationship between the Railway companies and the DLS is foremost in the discussion of the settlement of Western Canada during the period of study (1867-1931) in this thesis. Railways represented much more than just their physical mileage of track. This chapter will discuss this relationship within four components:

1. the CPR Transcontinental and other transcontinental railroads,
2. the subsequent branch-line railroads that were constructed
3. the lands granted to the railway companies, and
4. the rates charged for the transport of grains and goods.

These junctures began in the 1870s and this chapter will also describe the evolution and progression of the land grant system that dealt out the DLS lands to the various proprietors and their associates. These measures were largely federally administered and continued to affect settlement of the Prairie West throughout the period of study.

5.2 The Canadian Pacific Railway Transcontinental railroad: (1870-1885)

The thrust of the Federal Government's National Policy sought a partnership with the private sector:

> This was done specifically through the CPR, a private corporation backed by public subsidy… [It was designated] not only to build the transcontinental railway, but also to be the main instrument of immigration and settlement. The plan was clearly to populate the West with a population of [what can be called] agricultural commodity producers. (Whitaker, 1991: 6)

Once Canadian political union was achieved within the Confederation of 1867, it was necessary to achieve a physical union. The Transcontinental railroad was considered to be politically necessary for Canadian unity. The railroad would serve to bind the country together and would fulfill the promise made to British Columbia to connect it to the eastern provinces. This involved large-scale Government intervention, and it can be argued that given the considerable risks that can be attached to such an epic project, and to be privately profitable, that a subsidy was necessary to attract private enterprise.

The Dominion Government intended that the railroad should be built and operated by a private company rather than by the Government. In 1870, an Act was passed (35 Vict., c.71) to solidify these intentions whereby "the Government [would] have the power to make arrangements with any one company or group within the terms of the Act" (Glazebrook, 1938: 48):

> No company was named in the Act but the Government cautioned against any company who may be disposed in return to give their political support, or may become subservient followers, ready enough to grab the land and money; but in the end quite unable to keep faith with the country … This, of course, opens at once a door for just that political jobbery and corruption which has made the Intercolonial a great national scandal and the Grand Trunk a seething mass of political immorality. (Glazebrook, 1938: 49)

It is known that several proposals for the Transcontinental contract were submitted to the Government. However, in the end only four proposals were considered for the contract and given the power to negotiate with the Government. The four groups were

1. C.J.Brydges of the Grand Trunk Railway (GTR)
2. Alfred Waddington and his American associates
3. the Interoceanic Railway Company, and
4. the Sir Hugh Allan syndicate of Montreal.

Negotiations continued and mitigated for almost a decade.

C.J.Brydges, director of the GTR, had earlier refused to join the Sir Allan group because of differing strategies. The GTR strategy was

> Make a connection between Fort Garry and Lake Superior… [and the] railway west of Fort Garry [to be] built in sections, and not attempted too fast, and a branch down to Pembina to meet the United States system of railways. That would give a rail connection in winter, and by Lake Superior water connection would be had throughout the summer. I am quite clear that railways from Fort Garry around the north shore of Lake Superior and Lake Nipissing could not be built except at a frightful cost, when built could not be worked successfully in winter, and if it could be worked would have no traffic to carry upon it. (Glazebrook, 1938: 49-50)

The Grand Trunk had failed to sway the Government toward its plan of a Pacific Railway. The Government had favoured an all-Canadian route, and the Grand Trunk was thereby eliminated from the race.

Alfred Waddington of British Columbia had shown energy in his petition for the incorporation of the Canada Pacific Railway in 1871. Waddington was associated with a predominantly American group of which three individuals were directors of the U.S. railway company, The Northern Pacific. They were deeply interested in the Canadian project as a possible competitor, and it was possible that they sought to hinder rather than help, by working from the inside

(Glazebrook, 1938: 50). The Government studied their proposal and eliminated it from the competition.

Sir Hugh Allan's associates were Andrew Allan, J.J.C. Abbott of Montreal, Donald Smith of Manitoba, Henry Nathan of British Columbia, A.B. Foster of Ottawa, Thomas McGreevy of Quebec, Donald McInnes of Hamilton, and six Americans. Of the Americans, T.A. Scott and W.B. Ogden were directors of the Northern Pacific, and also were associates of the Waddington group. Allan believed that the company made up of the directors of the Northern Pacific allied with the Canadians would be of advantage to Canada (Glazebrook, 1938: 48-51).

Allan had approached Senator D.L. Macpherson of Toronto to be one of the Canadian directors. Macpherson objected to the organization and to giving the U.S. rivals control and ownership of the Canadian Transcontinental railroad. He then proceeded to organize a rival company, the Interoceanic Railway Company.

Although only one company could build the railway, and only one company would receive the final assent, Parliament was neutral and was preparing for the one contract that would receive final assent. It therefore passed Charters that recognized both companies as corporations, the Interoceanic Railway Company (35 Vict., c.72) and the Canada Pacific Railway Company (35 Vict., c.73). The first Act named Macpherson, W. McMaster, E.W. Cumberland and some fifty other men: "It was emphasized in the preamble of the Act that such an enterprise should as far as possible be controlled by British subjects" (Glazebrook, 1938: 52). The second Act's preamble was silent on the point of British subjects, and it named Allan, Abbott, Donald Smith, Donald McInnes, and others.

The Government, however, was in an awkward position considering Allan's American connections and the taint of American capital. Macdonald attempted to secure an amalgamation of the two "rings", as they had come to be called. The two rings argued about the number of directors each should have, and the fact that Allan insisted on being president. Macpherson argued that Allan's alliance with the Northern Pacific Railway presented a danger that the Railway and its entire vast land subsidy would be handed over to the Americans. (Glazebrook, 1938)

Allan drew away from his American associates because Canadian popular opinion would not tolerate anyone connected with the Northern Pacific being concerned in the Canadian line. Their amalgamation attempt had failed and was abandoned.

The Government then approached the question from yet another angle. A new charter was drawn up which referred to the failure to amalgamate the two companies and incorporated and chartered a new company that included men from both of the old companies (Glazebrook, 1938). The subscribers were Allan and twelve other names, all Canadian. The company was named the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. It was the British flag that was raised by Sir Hugh Allan and Company after the final decision was made as to which company would be awarded the contract.

In response to the announcement of the contract, *The Globe* wrote

> John A. [Macdonald] has made an Act of Parliament…that which in Great Britain requires the joint action of King, Lords, and Commons, and has hitherto required in Canada the co-operation of Governor-General, Senate, and House of Commons, has been effected with a stroke of the pen by the one-man-power [Macdonald] that has taken everything into its own hands at Ottawa… (Glazebrook, 1938: 54)

Alarm over the Government's decision was voiced by the Liberal member L.C. Huntington, who made general charges of a corrupt relation between the Government and the Allan ring. His resolutions were

> That subsequently, an understanding was come to between the Government and Sir Hugh Allan and Mr. Abbott, M.P., - that Sir Hugh Allan and his friends should advance a large sum of money for the purpose of aiding the Elections of Ministers and their supporters at the ensuing General Election, - and that he and his friends should receive the contract for the construction of the Railway …
>
> That part of the monies, expended by Sir Hugh Allan in connection with the obtaining of the Act of incorporation and Charter, were paid to him by the said United States Capitalists under the agreement with him, - it is…
>
> Ordered that a committee of seven Members be appointed to inquire into all the circumstances connected with the negotiations for the construction of the Pacific Railway… (Glazebrook, 1938: 55)

The Huntington resolutions were defeated on a party division, but the charge was too grave to be ignored. Shortly afterwards Macdonald moved for the appointment of a select committee of five that was empowered to take evidence under oath. The committee sat in September and October of 1872, and when Parliament reassembled on October 23, the Government was attacked for its alleged corruption. The Government resigned on November 5, and the guilt or innocence of Macdonald's Government in what became known as the "Pacific Scandal" must remain a matter of opinion.

There was no doubt that ministers had requested and accepted large sums of money, (totaling $350,000), from Sir Hugh Allan, and that Allan was the head of the ring (Glazebrook, 1938: 55-8). The effects of the Pacific Scandal allowed

Allan and Company to continue their railway contract; however, its progress was delayed with financial investors now less attracted to railway securities and more weary of schemes. In 1881, the arrangement granted the CPR:

- the contract for the construction of the Transcontinental railroad
- **a $21.1 million cash subsidy** (1885 $)
- the transfer of all existing eastern railroads (approximately 700 miles) built by the Government, to the CPR (an estimated 35 million 1885 $)
- the profits these lines accrued by 1900 ($113.3 million in 1900 $)
- perpetual tax exemption
- assurance that for twenty years (west of Lake Superior) no competing railway line would be built south of the Canadian Pacific Railroad
- **approximately 25 million acres of land** valued at 33.7 million (1900 $)
- the choice of **selecting only lands that were best fit for settlement**, and their discretion to **choose the timing of the sale of these lands** (until 1908)
- the right to **choose the timing of the construction of branch-line railroads**
- the **setting of the freight rates** for the transport of grains and commodities.
  Source: Herstein, 1970: 264; Emery and Mackenzie, 1996

The CPR was allowed to expand its activities far beyond that of just railroad services; it also:

- formed its own Department of Colonization and Immigration
- engaged in massive propaganda efforts to attract immigrants
- worked with both foreign Governments and private organizations abroad to encourage emigration
- advanced loans to immigrants that used Canadian Pacific steamships and CPR trains
- set up regional colonial offices and sponsored land improvement programs
- offered special mortgage plans for purchase of CPR-built ready made farms.
  Source: Whitaker, 1991: 6

A substantial transfer of power from the federal Government to the CPR had occurred with the signing of the milestone contract of 1881. Mercer (1973) stated the CPR was over-subsidized and estimated the value of the excess subsidy given by the Canadian Government to the CPR at $19 million (1900 $). See Table 5.1.

Table 5.1 CPR ledger (in millions of $1900)

Revenue	m $	Costs	m $
cash subsidy	21.1	capital construction	149.1
value of land	33.7		-
freight income up to 1900	113.3		-
Total	**168.1**		**149.1**
Excess subsidy			**19.0**

Source: Mercer, 1973

George (1968) also argued that the subsidy given to the CPR was grossly excessive, in as much as $61 million (1900 $).

The CPR Transcontinental mainline had reached the prairies by 1882 and reached the west coast on November 7, 1885. This was a tremendous accomplishment for such a young country. It took only 5 years to complete, and was the world's longest railroad at that time (Herstein, 1970: 265).

The CPR's route selection for crossing the prairies was a topic of long debate for the route planners of the Transcontinental railroad. The original route was intended to be a more northern route that would pass through Edmonton. The Railway executives chose the Regina-Calgary route instead.

This more southern route selection undoubtedly impacted the land grant system and the settlement of these lands. Entire townships on both sides of the continental were granted to the CPR to expedite the land sales that would offset construction costs. This land grant privilege was extended in some regions to include the entire second, third and fourth townships on both sides of the transcontinental (Lambrecht, 1991). The subsequent land sales and settlement that followed the railroad would have otherwise occurred in the more fertile, and less dry northern region, had that route been taken. None of the other Railways

enjoyed blanket township land grants like the CPR had, but rather were granted just the odd-numbered sections in each township.

5.3 The other transcontinental railroads (1880-1914)

The Canadian Northern Railway (CNoR) was the product of numerous antecedents, with no fewer than ten incorporations or amalgamations traceable back to 1880. The CNoR mainline reached Edmonton (via Winnipeg and Saskatoon) in 1905, and Canada's second transcontinental reached the Pacific coast at Prince Rupert in 1915. The railroad had been built as inexpensively as possible, with plans to make improvements to the line later, as passenger and freight traffic developed (NMSTC, 1996: 1).

The GTR of Canada was proposed in 1851 to be the main trunk line through the United Province of Canada. It was formally incorporated in 1852 to build a railroad from Toronto to Montreal, and this line was opened for traffic in 1856. The GTR formed a subsidiary company, the Grand Trunk Pacific (GTP) Railway. In 1909 the GTP mainline also reached Edmonton, and the west coast in 1914. This railway experienced heavy financial losses and was largely responsible for the bankruptcy of the GTR in 1919. The Federal Government took over the railway that year, placing it under the management of the Canadian National Railway (CNR).

5.4 Branch-line railroads

The CPR Transcontinental was the only railroad that existed in the area of what is today Saskatchewan until 1890 when the 249-mile railroad of the Qu'Appelle, Long Lake and Saskatchewan Railroad and Steamboat Company

(QLLSRSC) connected Regina to Prince Albert, via Saskatoon (Stevens, vol.2, 1962: 52). The CPR leased this mileage from its British bondholders and in the autumn of 1890 started intermittent services to the sparsely settled mileage. Each alternate section of land along the route had been claimed by the CPR under its land grant, but little effort was made to attract settlers. In 1896, the CPR undertook to operate the line for a further five years, and after that, arrangements would be continued on a year-to-year basis. By 1905, the British bondholders that owned the railway were willing to sell this section of railroad. In 1906 they did not renew the lease to the CPR, and on March 19 of that year, sold the line to Mackenzie and Mann's CNoR for $500,000 (Stevens, vol.2, 1962: 53).

The purchase was worth every cent, and in the first year it provided its new owners with 6 million bushels of grain at the lakehead (Stevens, vol.2, 1962: 53). This line also provided an invaluable north-south spine for branch line construction. Mackenzie and Mann executed the major coup, at the expense of the CPR, a matter of weeks after they opened their CNoR main line to Edmonton. The CNoR now controlled all the major railroads in northern Saskatchewan.

Between 1905 and 1917, the Saskatchewan Government had encouraged construction of new branch-lines by guaranteeing a $13,000 per mile bond to the railway companies. During this period, the railroad mileage in the province increased from about 1,000 miles, to over 6,000 miles (Richards and Fung, 1969: 16). This equated to approximately a $65 million subsidy.

The CNoR line from Saskatoon to North Battleford was completed in 1905, and the line from Prince Albert to North Battleford was completed in 1913.

World War 1 (1914-18) brought branch-line construction to a halt. In 1919, the Government acquired the QLLSRSC and the CNoR and merged them into the Canadian National Railway (CNR). The financial history of the CNoR was provided by its president D.H. Hanna:

> For 18 years up until 30 June, 1914, the [rail]road not only paid all its fixed charges interest on all its equipment purchases, but it did something more, it paid for four years of dividends out of its net income after paying all its fixed charges… and in 1911 that stock sold to the extent of 15 million dollars. The surplus for that year before paying these amounts out being $1,007,696.80 … in 1912 … $1,250,200.99… In 1913 we had sold the additional 10 million dollars… of stock increasing the amount to 25 million. That year the surplus was $1,832,943.78, after paying all the fixed charges and equipment securities interest. In 1914 the surplus for that year was $1,554,505.41. In 1914… the war aggravated that situation, and business fell away… (Glazebrook, 1938: 161)

After the railway was nationalized, it operated at a deficit that averaged approximately $56 million losses for each of the 4 years from 1919-1922. For the year 1923, and after a restructured management, the net earnings were over $20 million (Glazebrook, 1938: 180).

The creation of the CNR left the CPR as the only important rival and the only large private railway company in Canada. The position of the capital securities of the two in the period 1923-1931 showed that both companies had materially added to their fixed charges. See Table 5.2 for CNR and CPR revenues. In 1932, the CNR showed a net income deficit.

Table 5.2 CNR and CPR total net operating revenues (in millions $ rounded)

Year	CNR net revenue	CPR net revenue
1923	11.7	37.8
1924	11.8	37.5
1925	23.8	41.9
1926	35.4	47.9
1927	28.9	42.7
1928	42.6	56.5
1929	31.0	47.3
1930	16.9	41.5
1931	0.002	29.3

Source: Glazebrook, 1938: 202-3

By 1930, practically all the settled parts of the province were within ten miles of a railway (Richards and Fung, 1969). In 1930 a Saskatchewan Royal Commission on Immigration and Settlement noted

> there can be no question that the greatest agencies in the settlement of Western Canada in the past have been the two great railway systems [the CPR and the CNR]. (Whitaker, 1991: 6)

5.5.0 Railway land grants and the land companies

5.5.1 CPR and CNoR land grants

In total, the CPR had acquired and retained 19,816,009 acres of land grant from its mainline grant. It also procured additional grants of 1,408,704 acres for its Souris Branch (1890-91) and 200,320 acres for the Pipestone extension (1894) (Martin, 1938: 273). In addition, the CPR acquired over 6,000,000 acres through amalgamations or some other form of association with its contemporary railroads: Alberta Railroad and Coal, Great Northwest Central, Saskatchewan and Western, Manitoba and North-Western, and the Manitoba and Southwestern Colonization. The original CPR grant, together with the reversions from other lines, totaled

26,055,462 acres (82.0%) of the total net area of 31,783,654 acres of railway land grants from the Dominion (Martin, 1938: 274).

It was logical that the CPR should build its railroads through its own land grants. The value of the land was enhanced with the presence of the railroad, and the development of a volume of railroad traffic increased as settlement progressed within the area served by the line. This scenario, however, was not applicable to Railways that chose their land grants in areas that were distant from their railroads.

The CPR Transcontinental had to be built through two provinces, Ontario and British Columbia, where the public lands were under provincial control. Land sales were intended to defray mainline construction expenditures but Macdonald's Policy was perpetuated in 1885, after the completion of the Transcontinental:

> A Minute in Council repeated the doctrine of land grant revenues for railway branch-line construction. This policy was also a reason for postponing indefinitely, any prospect of returning the public lands to provincial control. (Martin, 1938: 267)

The Canadian Northern Railway was the first of all the colonization railway companies other than the CPR that was given free statutory land grants by Order-in-Council. Its land grants totaled over 3.4 million acres, which was the largest acreage under one category after the mainline grant to the CPR (Martin, 1938: 291).

Over 3 million acres were supplied within Saskatchewan, while in 1897 its railroad mileage totaled only 80 miles. Manitoba had supplied only 356,000 acres of land, but its railroad mileage totaled 335 miles. This disproportionate distribution of land grants in relation to railroad mileage also occurred in Alberta, which contributed over 6,000 acres but was supplied no mileage at all (Martin,

1938: 294). Saskatchewan had the distinction of having been supplied the least railroad, 80 miles, for the most land (3,060,000 acres) that was designated to the Railways in the DLS template.

The inverse was true for Ontario, where the province's mileage was 650 miles of mainline (Martin, 1938: 303). The fact that not a single acre of land subsidy came from within Ontario was a result of the policy for building the Transcontinental through Ontario which was designed to finance railroad construction through western land sales. Sir John A. Macdonald had assured the House in 1882, that "not a farthing of money will have to be paid by the people of (Eastern) Canada" (Martin, 1938: 267).

In 1908, the Railways were compelled by legislation to finally complete the selection of their land subsidies from the lands reserved for that purpose. Many odd-numbered sections were not selected by the Railways and were therefore opened to settlement. A great demand for these lands resulted when the legislation came into force on 1 September 1908. The Dominion Land's agent at Battleford reported that

> For several days the services of the police were required to handle and control the huge crowd awaiting admission. (Lambrecht, 1991: 25)

Another agent reported

> during the first few days it was found necessary to call in the assistance of the homestead inspectors, with some of the forest rangers, to control the great crowd and keep order… On the first day the crowd was so great that the stairs leading to the [Dominion Lands] office broke down under the press. (Lambrecht, 1991: 25-6)

The pre-emption offered in 1908 was cancelled by Order in Council in 1918 in anticipation of the demand for land to meet the soldier settlement program.

5.5.2 Other Colonization railway land grants

The origins of colonization Railways are found prior to the granting of the final charter to the CPR. In the 1880s and 1890s, a dozen colonization railway companies had applied for the right to land acreage, and a frenzy of projections had accompanied the CPR monopoly. The colonization railway offered

> a plausible technique for building branch-lines. Aspiring railway magnates sprang up in all directions to exploit the popular outcry against [the CPR] monopoly. (Martin, 1938: 277)

Nearly a dozen projects had been given individual grants from the Canadian railway land grant system, which added up to nearly 12 million acres of Dominion Land (Martin, 1938: 277). Many of the colonization Railways

> exploited the system at its worst, and filled a decade with turmoil and controversy: The technique for the colonization railway became the most promising contrivance yet devised for getting lands cheap and in large quantities from the Government. The desperate rivalry for land grants began with premature incorporation and a mad scramble for eligible land reserves, and passing through all the conventional stages of broken contracts and rival interests undermining and countermining each other's concessions from the Government. (Martin, 1938: 277)

In 1884, no fewer than six colonization railway companies were authorized by Statute, to earn Dominion Lands at the rate of 6,400 acres for every mile of railway (Martin, 1938: 297). In the decades that followed, several more companies were authorized the same.

These lands were reserved in the odd-numbered sections and all of these lands were deemed fairly fit for settlement. The phrase "fairly fit for settlement" was defined by Clifford Sifton, the Minister of the Interior, as

> …each quarter section shall, as respects [to] soil and climate, be of such a nature that a man can make a reasonable living for himself and his family off such quarter section without the use of adjoining lands by ordinary work and industry. (Hon. Clifford Sifton to A.R. Creelman, Jan. 5, 1899 in Martin, 1938: 297)

The land grants given to the Railway Company consisted of only the best lands:

> should any of such sections consist in a material degree of land not fairly fit for settlement, the Company shall not be obliged to receive them as part of such grant; and the deficiency … shall be made up from other portions in the tract known as the fertile belt… (Lambrecht, 1991: 73)

In addition, these colonization Railways resorted to loans from the Railway Aid Act of 1885, by which funds for railroad constructions could be raised from provincial debentures and advanced to the Railways on the security of their land grants. Colonization Railways had begun, in many instances, as a protest against the CPR monopoly, but they also ended in amalgamation with the rival monopoly Railway that they were intended to circumvent.

The colonization railway Qu'Appelle, Long Lake and Saskatchewan Railroad and Steamboat Company (QLLSRSC) had emerged in 1883, and located both railroad mileage and land grant acreage in Saskatchewan. The total mileage of this company in Saskatchewan was 254 miles, with a land grant of over 1.6 million acres. The dispute over eligible reserves of this company was bitterly prosecuted, and controversies dragged on until the Saskatchewan Valley Land Company (SVLC) intervened (forthcoming in section (6.6.2). See Table 5.3 for the colonization company's names and railroad mileage.

Table 5.3 Railway land grants and railroad mileages built in the DLS

Railway Company	Net land grants (in acres)	Total mileage	Saskatchewan mileage
Canadian Pacific mainline	* 18206985	1,231	419
CPR Souris Branch	1,408,704	184	80
CPR Pipestone Extension	200,320	31	0
CPR subsidiaries:			
Alberta Railway and Coal	1,101,712	174	0
Manitoba and North-Western	1,501,376	235	0
Manitoba and South-Western Colonization	1,396,800	218	0
Great Northwest Central	320,000	50	0
Calgary and Edmonton	1,820,685	295	0
Saskatchewan and Western	98,880	15	0
Canadian Northern subsidiaries			
Winnipeg Great Northern	2,624,128		
Lake Manitoba Railway & Canal Co.	798,400	415	80
Manitoba and South Eastern	680,320	312	0
Qu' Appelle, Long Lake & Saskatchewan Railroad and Steamboat Company	1,625,344	254	254
Totals (rounded)	**31,781,596**	**3,209**	**885**

* reduction from 25,000,000 acres in the original contract to retire an 1886 government loan

Source: Martin, 1938: 302-3.

5.6 Railroad freight rates

Since Confederation, Canada's transportation Policies have contributed to western discontent over freight-rates. The federal writers argued that the Railways had to achieve a balance between their costs and revenues, taking into account the total spread of their operations and differing degrees of competition (Regehr, 1977: 257-8).

George Stephen, the first president of the CPR, was convinced his company would not be viable unless it held a Western monopoly, which would

force all traffic to and from the prairies onto its lines at high rates. He believed that without a Western monopoly

> the whole line from Winnipeg to Ottawa would be rendered all but useless, and the large sums of money spent, and to be spent thereon, might as well have been thrown in the lake … no sane man would give one dollar for the whole line west of Winnipeg if the west enjoyed the same competitive conditions as prevailed in the East. (Stephen to Macdonald, 13 November 1980, Macdonald Paper, Vol. 268, p. 121844 in Regehr, 1977: 259)

Difficulties arose because of the differing degrees of competition in different regions of Canada. In one region, Railways competed with American Railways and with water transport on the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence River system. In other regions, the Railways had a virtual monopoly. National Policies specifically permitted and, indeed, required the Railways to charge whatever the traffic of a particular region could be made to pay, subject to fixed maximums (Regehr, 1977: 258). If the Railways were forced to operate uneconomical sections, or if there were operational losses in highly competitive areas, they recouped their losses by charging higher rates in the non-competitive areas. See Table 5.4 for the first CPR freight-rate schedule was published in 1883. The rate in the west was 3 times that for comparable distances in eastern areas.

Table 5.4 CPR freight rate schedule in selected regions (per bushel of wheat in 1883).

From	To	Rate
Toronto	Montreal	10.0 cents
Winnipeg	Thunderbay	26.6 cents
Moose Jaw	Winnipeg	30.6 cents

Source: Regehr, 1977: 260

Federal regulatory agencies have described the rate differentials as discriminatory, but have consistently ruled that these differentials constitute "fair discrimination":

> The policy of fair discrimination is rooted in the National Policy, and this transportation policy has contributed to much Western Canadian discontent. (Regehr, 1977: 257-8)

Since 1883 when the first CPR freight-rate schedule was published, there has been deliberate and admitted freight-rate discrimination against the West.[9]

George Stephen, the CPR's first president, believed that what was good for his company must also be good for the area it served:

> A fair and unbiased consideration he informed Prime Minister Macdonald, must result in the conviction that the interests of the country and the company are identical, and every advantage or privilege granted to the latter are necessary for the due protection of the joint interests.[10] (Regehr, 1977: 2)

In 1881, Sir Charles Tupper, the Minister of the Railways (Prime Minister in 1896) stated with characteristic candour

> Are the interests of Manitoba and the North-West to be sacrificed to the interests of Canada? I say, if it is necessary, yes. (Martin, 1938: 276)

Farmers and grain shippers in the West, however, believed that the CPR's advantages and privileges were ruinous. The price of wheat at Thunder Bay in the 1880s was 65 cents per bushel (Regehr, 1977: 2). The freight rate consumed half of the farmer's gross income for grain crops and placed an intolerable burden on

[9] It is important to note that railways do not calculate regional operating costs. Western Canadians have long demanded effective disclosure of regional cost accounting, and the implementation of regional rates commensurate with regional costs. The railways and the federal agencies have never agreed to this and they believe "fair discrimination" is absolutely essential if they are to "balance their costs and revenues, taking into account the total spread of their operations and the differing degrees of competition." Regehr, p. 261)

[10] (PAC, Macdonald Papers, CCLXVIII, 121862, George Stephen to John A. Macdonald, 23 Jan. 1881)

homesteaders. In 1883, the North West Farmers' Protective Union denounced the railway, its monopoly, and its high freight rates in cutting terms:

> The burdens laid on the people… the farmers… are so great that agricultural operations cannot be made to yield a profit; that immigration before the removal of these burdens will benefit neither the province nor the immigrants to settle in the province till full redress of the grievances complained of by this convention shall have bee attained. (Regehr, 1977: 2)[11]

Many years later, railway superintendent Hanna referred to his company as "the West's own product, designed to meet the West's own needs" (Regehr, 1977: 3). This statement was arguably far from reality, and the contrary is perhaps more accurate. The desperation of the farmers, the candour of the Minister of Railways, and the national patriotism of superintendent Hanna are all evidence of the great power and influence the Railways had in Western Canada.

[11] Resolution of the Manitoba and North West Farmers' Protective Union, 1883, as quoted in Alexander Begg, A History of the North West, III, Toronto: Hunter Rose and Co., 1895, p. 89.

Chapter six

6.0 The alienation of the Dominion Lands (1885-1931)

6.1 Introduction

With the Dominion Land's Act (1872), the lands of the Dominion were transferred to a number of proprietors before they could be acquired by agriculturists (Figure 4.8, page 50 for the propriety template used in allocating sections of land). These lands were subsequently sold to agriculturists; however, these proprietors were recognized to have intermediate alienation of these lands. This chapter will discuss the intermediate alienation of all categories of land within the DLS from the various proprietors to including the Government's free-homestead lands, pre-emption lands, and purchased homesteads, the railway lands grants of the Canadian Pacific Railway, Canadian Northern Railway (Canadian National Railway after 1919), the Qu'Appelle, Long Lake and Saskatchewan Railroad and Steamboat Company, the lands of the Hudson's Bay Company, and public schools.

This chapter will introduce three companies that sold land in the Prairie West during their existence between 1895 and 1919: the Saskatchewan Valley Land Company, the Mackenzie and Mann Company Limited, and the Canadian Northern Prairie Lands Company. The process of settlement will be accounted for

through the monitoring of land transactions by the various proprietors. It will also include an examination of the timing and prices of land sales.

6.2 Free-homesteads, Pre-emption, and the purchased homestead

The differences amongst homesteads, pre-emptions, and purchased homesteads were the following. Homesteads were free, involving only a $10 registration fee and the cultivation of 30 acres of land. Upon fulfilling the cultivation requirements, and the residency requirements (3 or 5 years depending on the year of the corresponding Homestead Act), the individual would receive patent, commonly known as the title to the land. The term "patented" can be applied to homestead lands, and it can be used to mean

> that a deed bearing title to land has been drawn up by the crown agency concerned, that is, the federal or provincial Government, for crown land that had not [been] previously transferred to a private party. Acreage patented therefore is a measure of the amount of crown land that is alienated from the crown for the first time. (Urquhart, 1965: 308)

In some parts of the DLS during some periods, homestead abandonment had exceeded the number of homestead applications (Martin, 1938: 529). With only the $10 registration fee invested, and potentially much to gain, it was not uncommon for homesteaders to abandon their first homestead entry, and later make application for a more desirable homestead.

In the context of the DLS lands, the term "pre-emption" was a general term applied to the allocation of the right for a designated party, to "purchase before others" a particular category of land that was designated as pre-emption land. In the case of pre-empted railway land, the Railways were the first party that selected the aforesaid lands that they were entitled to from the Railway land grant reserve.

If the railway company selected land from the railway land grant reserve, the Railways were given patent for that land. These lands would be subsequently sold to agriculturists and the patents were transferred with the sale of these lands, to the individual agriculturist. Until these lands were sold, however, the Railway was recognized to have intermediate alienation of these lands. In this thesis, the dates of land alienation do not refer to the above intermediate alienation whereby the land was not physically affected by the Railways. Rather the dates refer to alienation of the land from nature by agriculturists after its purchase. In a similar method, other proprietors including the HBC, schools, and land companies, had also held patents to their lands, including the lands' intermediate alienation status.

If the railway company did not select a particular quarter-section of land from the odd-numbered sections of a township within the land grant reserve (only lands fairly fit for settlement section 5.5.2 page 73), the rights to these lands were reverted to the Crown. The Crown then made the same lands available to agriculturists by first permitting the homesteader that was living adjacent to this land, to have pre-emption rights and to be able to purchase this land before others. Pre-emption laws allowed purchases only from neighbouring quarter-sections, and were designed to deter fraudulent exploitation by the land-grabber:

> A settler could obtain an interim entry for an adjoining quarter section that was then unclaimed, and could purchase the said adjoining quarter section at the Government price as soon as patent could be issued for the original homestead. (Statutes of Canada, 37 Vict., c.19 in Martin, 1938: 417)

Not all pre-empted lands were given pre-emption status for the neighbouring homesteader. Some of the lands that had been reverted to the Crown were also

sold as purchased homesteads, without the neighbouring homesteader having the right of first refusal.

Purchased homesteads were Government lands that could be some distance from the original homestead, and were purchased by regular homesteaders at a Government set price. The title was issued for pre-emption lands and purchased homesteads only after the cultivation and residency requirements were met for the original homestead, and after the purchase price was paid (Urquhart, 1965: 310).

A vast area of odd-numbered sections that had been designated to the Railway land reserve were not selected by the Railways because the Railways did not see them as being fit for settlement. The Government opened these sections for pre-emption sales or as purchased homesteads. The total area under pre-emption in Saskatchewan between 1908 and 1918 was given by the Dominion as 3,871,882 acres (24,200 qs) (Martin, 1938: 420). The total area of pre-emption lands that were patented up to 1931 was given by the Dominion as 40.1% (1,552,664 acres) of the total (3,871,882 acres) of pre-emption land (Martin, 1938: 422):

> Pre-emption was popular and it was common for more than half of those making a homestead entry to also make a pre-emption entry. Pre-emption, however, was also problematic. Dominion officials argued that the homestead was quite enough for cultivation by one settler or a family, given the technology of this early time, and an additional quarter section as pre-emption was often a burden rather than a security (Lambrecht, 1991: 25).

Until the transfer of resources to Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta in 1930, all land was patented by the Dominion Government.

6.3.0 Railway land sales

The Railway land grant (44.5% of all DLS land) and the free homestead lands (45% of DLS land) had dwarfed the remaining (10.5%) land sales of the HBC and the schools. There were often long delays before the railway selected and patented the lands to which they were entitled. The causes and results of these delays will be discussed in Chapters seven and nine. Two aspects of railway land sales, however, are now relevant: the CPR land tax exemptions, and the sale price of the railway lands.

6.3.1 CPR Tax exemptions and the price of CPR land (1901-1913)

"The property and capital of the CPR were exempt from taxation forever; while the CPR land grants were exempt for twenty years after the grant thereof from the Crown" (Martin, 1938: 274). There were delays on the part of the Railways in selecting their indemnity land grants that were "fairly fit for settlement" from the railway land grant reserves. They postponed the selection of these lands because once they accepted the title to a given block of land, it became subject to provincial and municipal taxation (Fowke, 1946: 178). These delays subsequently imposed a further impediment for the potential purchasers of these lands.

In 1934, the Province of Saskatchewan advanced claims of more than $2,500,000 before the Resources Commission for losses in taxes suffered due to the expiry of the Railway's twenty year tax exemption for their indemnity lands. These claims were not pressed to a conclusion, but the computation at the average

rate of 19.1 cents per acre indicates virtual tax evasion on the part of the Railways for vast accounts of land over a considerable period of time (Martin, 1938: 274).

When the Railways finally selected their lands, the selling price of the land could be a factor that affected the pace of land sales. The "purchase price required the settler to be either wealthy or already established" (Martin, 1938: 503). Table 6.1 shows that the price of each qs soared from $240 in 1901 to $3,520 in 1912.

Table 6.1 CPR land sales from 1901 to 1912

year of sale	cost per acre	cost of one qs
1901	$1.50	$240
1902	$3.50	$560
1903	$4.00	$640
1904	$5.00	$800
1905	$6.00	$960
1906	$10.00	$1,600
1908	$15.00	$2,400
1911	$17.00	$2,720
1913	$22.00	$3,520

Source: Glenbow Archives, 2004 Note: some qs sold at values higher than shown

6.3.2 Alienation of the Canadian Northern Railway land grants

As early as 1903, CNoR land grants, obtained for $.70 an acre under the old Charters, were on sale for $5.25 to $7.25 per acre, in 1906 at $9.50 per acre, and in 1917 at $19.32 per acre (Stevens, Vol.2, 1962, 55: 340). The land grant accumulated by the CNoR had realized a higher average gross price per acre than any other category under the Railway land grant system (Martin, 1938: 294).

Despite the high prices, the settlers endeared the CNoR's principals on payment leniency and their policy of time-sale payments over a six year period. D.B. Hanna, a partner of Mackenzie and Mann, declared

> As long as a man is on his farm and is improving his property for the railroad either in the shape of grain or of cattle, we do not do anything to force him to make payment. In other words, the railway never has had a foreclosure. (Stevens, Vol.2, 1962: 55)

6.4.0 Land Companies

The railways were much more than the mere representation of their railroad mileage. They were

> entrepreneurial empires which attracted a host of supporting and ancillary enterprises. Rolling stock, terminal facilities, docks, express and telegraph companies, land, coal-mining ventures, handling and forwarding facilities, and many other undertakings became directly or indirectly associated with the railway companies. (Regehr, 1977: 219)

Railway companies, which were preoccupied with construction and finance, often turned over the sales of their land grants to land companies. The total span of existence of the three land companies was relatively brief (1895 to 1919). The brief existence of these three land companies can be attributed to the efficiency of their land sales. It is known that the CNoR and CNR alone, did have 670 different legally recognized affiliates before 1963 (Scrimgeour, 1963: 1)

6.4.1 Mackenzie, Mann and Company Limited

The most important company directly associated with the CNoR was the private contracting partnership of Mackenzie, Mann and Company Limited (MMCL). MMCL's relationship with the settlers offered the prospective settlers financial and contracting services, as well as promotional, financial, and developmental ventures. The railway company could not perform these functions under its own Charter, as the provisions of the Canadian Railway Act prevented the railway company from participation in ventures which were not directly related to its own operations (Regehr, 1977: 220).

No such provisions restricted the activities of the MMCL joint stock company. It could and did acquire whatever assets it needed to meet the needs of the railway company. The results were that whenever the Railway needed an asset

> such services were purchased and transferred from MMCL to the CNoR at a price fixed, very often, if not altogether, at what Mackenzie, Mann and Co. Ltd. paid for it, plus the carrying charge. (Regehr, 1977: 220-1)

The normal procedure was simply for MMCL to exchange their bonds and stock holdings in the ancillary companies for CNoR bonds and stocks.

The CNoR's contract with MMCL stipulated that the contractors

> would receive land grants as partial payment for their construction costs. Instead of receiving the land grant directly, the contractor-promoters were to be given bonds issued against the security of these lands. None of these bonds, however, were ever issued. (Regehr, 1977: 225)[12]

In 1899 financial difficulties forced MMCL to surrender to the CNoR their entire interests in their land grants and instead took the CNoR's capital stock. MMCL received $4,000,000 in capital stock in return for "all their right, title and interest and claims in and to all the said lands" (Regehr, 1977: 225-6). The CNoR then used the lands as security for a $2,000,000 land-grant bond issue:

> The bond issue was actually prepared before the necessary agreement with MMCL was signed, with the questionable result that on paper, the land transfer was dated 1900, while the bond issue was brought out in 1899. Once the transfer was made, the land-grant bonds were issued and sold to the National Trust Company, which also served as the CNoR's land agent (Regehr, 1977: 225-6). [13]

In addition to the numerous services provided, MMCL expedited land sales to the settlers sooner than the CNoR was capable of. There had been,

[12] (PAC, CNR Records, MCCLVI, 21-25, Meeting of Directors of the Lake Manitoba Railway and Canal Company, 18 May 1896)

[13] (PAC, CNR Records, MCDXXXVI, 11-26, Meetings of Shareholders and Directors of the Canadian Northern Railway, 21 Feb. 1899; MCDXXXVII, 5-6, 39-40, Meeting of Directors of the Canadian Northern Railway Company, 23 Jan. 1904 and 7 July 1904)

however, some political accusations of scandal between the MMCL and the CNoR. Some twenty years later Z.A.Lash, the CNoR's solicitor and banker, dealt with this legend:

> I may state without qualification that during the whole term of my connection with the Canadian Northern Railway and Mackenzie, Mann and Company… never used their position as shareholders controlling the company or their position as directors of the Company to obtain from the Company any advantage that could be objected to on legal grounds. (Stevens, Vol.2, 1962: 40)

At the Canadian Northern Arbitration proceedings in 1918, the chief counsel for the railway company concurred

> I am instructed that the audit of the Government which traced all money paid by the Canadian Northern Railway Company to Mackenzie, Mann and Company and paid by the latter to the contractors, show that no profit was made – not a dollar of profit was ever made by Mackenzie, Mann and Company. They simply acted as bankers for the Canadian Northern railway. (Stevens, Vol.2, 1962: 40)

6.4.2 Saskatchewan Valley Land Company

The Saskatchewan Valley Land Company (SVLC) came about in 1902. Sifton made an agreement with the new syndicate that when it placed 20 settlers on free-homestead land located on the even-numbered sections in a township, and 12 settlers on land bought from the Government, it could buy the remaining even-numbered sections in a township for $1 per acre. SVLC could thereby purchase 250,000 acres of Government land, and it contracted to buy an additional 450,000 acres from the Railways (Morton, 1938: 120). The land grants of the CNoR and its subsidiaries were administered largely through the SVLC.

The SVLC was one of the more successful syndicates formed to attract settlers to the West. From between 1902 and 1905, the company brought in some 50,000 families (Archer, 1980: 119). Sifton referred to the SVLC as

> the beginning of the success of our immigration work… the first indication that we had actually succeeded in attracting the attention of men and capital... the coming in of this company was the beginning of the great success of the immigration work in the west. I can recall no feature of our colonization policy in the Northwest which has been attended with greater success. (Martin, 1938: 509)

SVLC was a phenomenally successful company. They sought out large tracts of vacant land where various religious and ethnic groups could settle. Land grants usually gave SVLC control of all the odd-numbered sections within a township that were fit for settlement. SVLC then sought to gain control of as many even-numbered sections as possible. If there was a danger that other settlers might apply for homesteads in the targeted township, SVLC agents resorted to "blanketing."[14]

SVLC offered easy financial terms with long repayment schedules, and in less than two years the SVLC sold 700,360 acres of CNoR lands at an average price well above the minimum $5 per acre. This equated to a total of over $3.5 million (1905$) (Martin, 1938: 228).[15] The arrangement with SVLC was terminated in 1905, and the unsold lands were returned to the CNoR, but SVLC was allowed the profit it might have made if all the remaining lands had been sold for $5.20 per acre.

6.4.3 Canadian Northern Prairie Lands Company

Canadian Northern Prairie Lands Company (CNPLC) (1905-1919) was the third subsidiary land company the CNoR used to promote their lands. Among the

[14] Blanketing meant "homestead claims were filed by agents and friends of the land company, although none of them ever intended to settle. These homestead claims could then be reassigned or sold to the new settlers that the company hoped to bring in". (Regehr, 1977, 228)

[15] (PAC, CNR Records, XCCXII, Secretary's Black Book, Agreement No. 58, Canadian Northern Railway and Saskatchewan Valley and Manitoba Land Company, Release of Land Grants to Canadian Northern Railway, 1 July 1905)

lands transferred to the CNPLC was a block of 256,000 acres which had previously been transferred from MMCL to the CNoR. The CNoR had received 120,000 shares of the CNPLC, valued at $5 per share (totaling $600,000), for these 256,000 acres of land. There was thus a $200,000 paper profit on the transaction. Many of these CNPLC shares were transferred to the CNoR and were subsequently sold in London to private investors. In total, 66,170 shares (55% of the total shares) were sold for a total of $556,606 (Regehr, 1977: 229-31). It is clear that large profits could be made from land transactions of this kind.

6.5 Hudson's Bay Company Lands

Whereas the Land Companies were artificially created by Railway companies to expedite their own business interests, the HBC used no such proxies. The HBC had been granted land within sections 8 and 26 of every township, resulting in the even distribution of HBC lands throughout the entire DLS. The Charter of 1873, allowed the CPR to select lands other than those designated to it. The CPR was not bound to receive any lands which were not best fit for settlement. The Charter was intended to expedite the recovery of the construction costs of the Transcontinental railroad. The lands that had been granted to the HBC in 1869 were lands that had been granted as compensation for the transfer of Rupert's Land to the Dominion of Canada (sections 4.5.1 and 4.5.2). Unlike the CPR and CNoR, the HBC had enjoyed no recourse if its lands were unfertile or otherwise less marketable to agriculturists.

However, this did not severely impact the HBC land sales as the average sale price of all HBC lands was $12.10 per acre. The high prices of the HBC land

may explain why the HBC had so much land still on hand after most of the other proprietor's lands, except for the schools, were all but exhausted. Of its total 6.6 million acres in the DLS, the HBC had more than 2.6 million acres (39.4%) still unsold in 1930 (Martin, 1938: 243).

6.6 School Lands

The administration of school lands was distinctive and unique. The general policy with regard to them had been simple and direct and

> its function was most admirable, an endowment for purposes of education. The technique of sale by public auction became a familiar feature in every township. The one thing it was intended to do was done with conspicuous success. It produced the highest revenues, it was administered at the lowest cost, and the technique of sale was the most uniform to be found within the DLS. (Martin, 1938: 510)

The cost of administration for the school land sales in Saskatchewan was 2.16 per cent of gross sales, and it was less than 2.5 per cent of gross proceeds in the whole of the DLS (Martin, 1938: 512). In contrast, the cost of the administration of CPR land sales was no less than 45% (Martin, 1938: 347).

The purchasers of school lands were homesteaders or established agriculturists. From 1905 to 1930, more than $16,350,000 was paid in cash to the Government of Saskatchewan alone. By 1930, the total fund for Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta school land sales totaled more than $33,350,000 (Martin, 1938: 514).

The average price per acre of school land was higher than that of any other single category of land sales. The gross average price of school lands was $16.85 per acre in Saskatchewan (Martin, 1938: 415). The method of sale for both was designed, like that of the CPR, for the established settler rather than for the

newcomer. Sales by auction, between 1910 and 1930, accounted for over 75% of school lands sales (Martin, 1938: 416). School lands contributed to the speculative enterprise of the individual farmer during periods of inflation. To optimize the returns for school lands, their sales usually took place during the prosperous periods of an economic cycle and not during periods of recession. Table 6.2 summarizes land sale prices.

Table 6.2 Land sale prices of various proprietors

Land Proprietor	average price per acre
Homestead	$0.06
CPR	$7.63
HBC	$12.10
CNoR	$10.45 ($16.06 between 1915 and 1930)
QLLSR	$10.00
Sask. Schools	$15.64 (net)

Source: Martin, 1938: 501

The total acres of free homestead lands that were patented in the DLS prior to 1931 had dwarfed the combined remaining land sales of the Railways, schools, the HBC and the land companies. Table 6.3 summarizes the top six forms of DLS land alienations (1885 to 1931).

Table 6.3 Land acreage patented in DLS by type of entry (1885-1931). (number of acres X 1000)

Year	Homesteads	Purchased lands	CPR & its subsidiaries	CNoR & subsidiaries	HBC lands	School Lands
1885	272.6					
1886	466.9					
1887	373.6					
1888	269.5					
1889	254.9					
1890	218.9					
1891	188.3					
1892	282.8					
1893	320.5		118.7	1.6		
1894	238.4		60.5	0.6	7.5	
1895	205.0		107.9	2.4	4.3	
1896	280.2		98.5	0.3	9.3	
1897	300.5		208.9	2.5	10.8	
1898	286.3		364.1	22.5	62.0	
1899	406.4		344.5	61.0	56.9	
1900	184.9		559.3	18.9	70.2	
1901	335.9		516.4	22.3	82.3	
1902	720.1		1892.4	39.8	269.6	
1903	778.1		2871.3	1027.6	330.0	
1904	655.5		1057.9	64.5	144.9	
1905	937.6		618.6	231.7	139.7	*419.1
1906	1374.9		1201.5	205.0	236.2	155.1
1907	1421.3		817.7	291.0	69.2	136.9
1908	2315.5		123.0	202.5	21.2	114.7
1909	3174.7		46.3	27.7	25.4	1.4
1910	3220.5		689.0	391.4	104.4	330.1
1911	3014.4		748.6	390.9	267.0	487.6
1912	2694.8		885.7	401.1	42.6	2.1
1913	3700.3		455.8	197.9	53.6	170.5
1914	4769.8	124.0	291.2	184.1	26.3	1.1
1915	3524.0	205.3	175.1	1.3	16.4	0.5
1916	2490.8	310.7	263.3	12.2	79.3	1.5
1917	2197.9	684.6	460.9	39.3	254.9	299.1
1918	2333.1	1113.4	640.5	89.2	386.4	311.6
1919	1478.6	759.4	654.2	98.9	285.6	625.5
1920	1637.8	856.0	631.2	118.4	276.6	0.2
1921	1935.0	593.0	293.9	81.3	178.3	217.4
1922	1500.4	260.2	106.2	15.5	33.6	44.4
1923	746.2	102.1	86.0	12.3	25.0	4.6
1924	433.6	86.5	48.6	77.7	33.4	1.2
1925	299.7	75.4	103.7	58.9	84.8	0.4
1926	280.1	83.0	186.5	86.7	184.6	0.9
1927	282.8	94.8	266.4	117.5	282.7	1.0
1928	307.5	117.7	418.3	75.6	289.7	487.8
1929	333.6	120.7	481.0	88.9	289.9	656.8
1930	330.5	74.1	271.9	75.2	216.0	404.9
1931	200.0	12.5				21.3

Source: Urquhart, 1965: 317-27 * includes cumulative sales prior to 1905

There had been a relatively a small number of patents issued prior to the turn of the 20th century (section 3.13). The pace of land patenting from all proprietors had numerous highs and lows during the period of study. It is interesting to analyse the pace and timing of the various land patenting cycles as they occurred within and amongst each land proprietor.

After 1900, Railway land sales boomed until 1908. In that year the Government of Saskatchewan passed legislation requiring that the Railways finally select the lands they were entitled to from the Railway land grant reserve (section 6.2); and that the pre-empted lands that were not selected by Railways be made available for sale to agriculturists. The great demand for the purchase of these lands is evident in Figure 6.1 with the significant number of patents written in the decade thereafter. World War I had little affect on the quantity of land purchased which even increased, most likely as a product of the high wheat prices during this decade (section 7.9), the enlarging size of the farm unit (section 7.10), and the land acquisitions by second generation Canadians.

As previously stated, the HBC had more than 2.6 million acres (39.4%) still unsold in 1930 (Martin, 1938: 243). All school and corporate land alienations were for their actual year of alienation, which was also the year of patent. The homestead lands are shown at their year of patent, however, it is important to note that their date of settlement occurred three or five years prior (Homeststead Act, section 4.5.1, page 50).

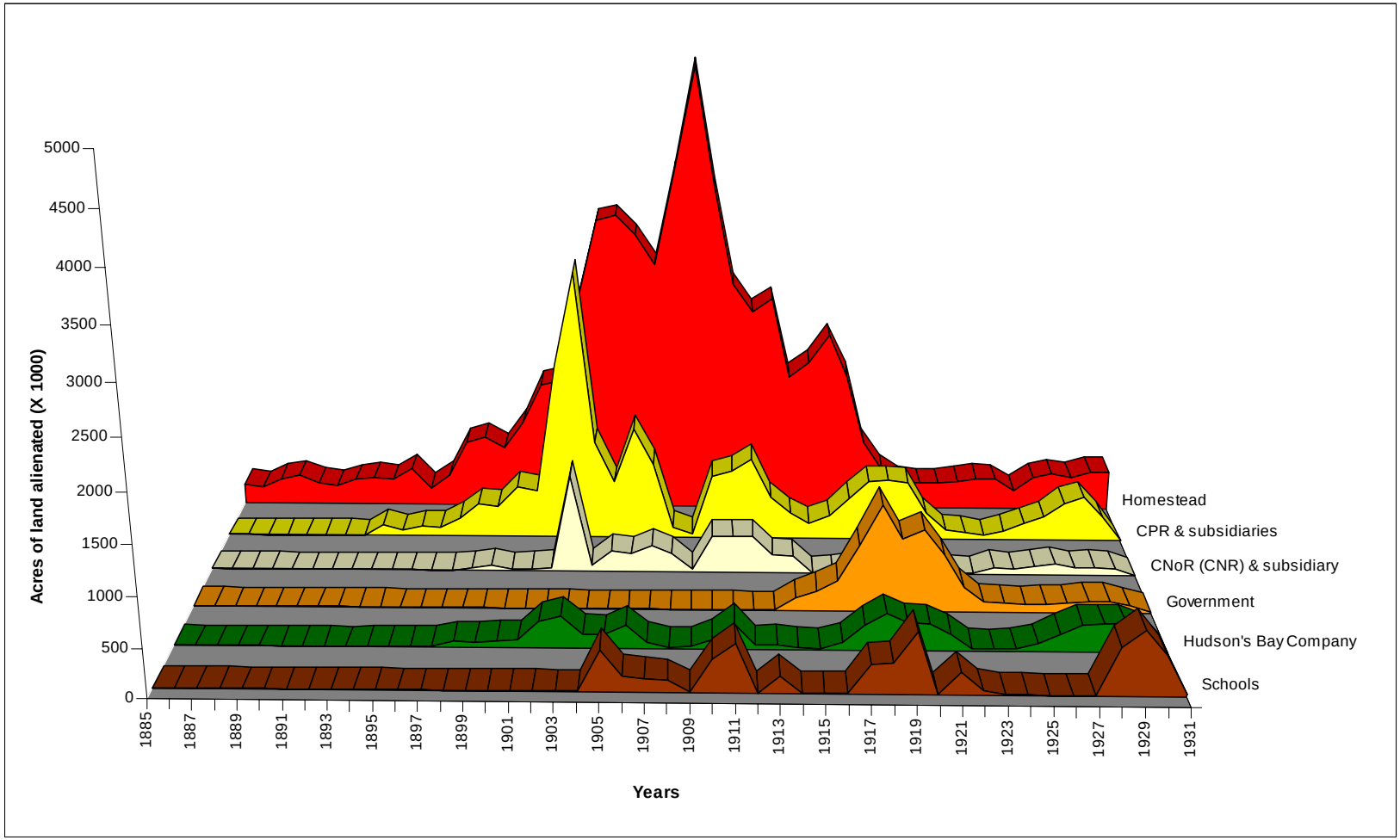


Figure 6.1 Land acreage alienated in the Dominion Land's Survey by type of entry 1885-1931 (thousands of acres)
Statistical source: Table 7 and Urquhart, 1965: 317-27

6.7 Other forms of land alienation

Four other forms of land alienation are relevant to this study: the lands of the Indian reserves, Métis scrip, soldier land grants, and squatters.

The official aim of the Department of the Interior in respect to Indians was

> to instil the values of white society in the Indian population so that they could become self-sufficient. Much time, money and labour was spent in training Indian families in agricultural pursuits (Archer, 1980: 120-21).

A decreased Indian population and an increased number of settlers, however, led to pressure on Indian lands:

> These lands, [that were] originally granted to the Indians, were surrendered by the Indians for sale and the sums so raised were credited to the Indians concerned. Sales of land to individual members of the band were not separated from sales to people outside the reserve. (Urquhart, 1965: 311)

No less than 750,000 acres were alienated from reserves to settlers from 1896 and 1909 (Archer, 1980: 120).

Land grants were also given to the Métis after 1870. This provision was made (33 Vict., c. 3 s.31) "for the benefit of the families of the half-breed residents" (Martin, 1938: 237). The heads of families were provided with grants of 160 acres (63 hectares) or $160 in scrip money that was only applicable to the purchase of Dominion Lands. Up to 1905, a total of 24,326 claims for land or scrip were granted, with only 758 claims being granted after 1905 (Martin, 1938: 239).

The third form of land alienation that will be noted is that of soldiers. Lands were granted to veterans that served in the South African Boer War (1899-1902) and World War 1 (1914-1918). South African veterans were granted two quarter-sections each, while WWI veterans were each given one quarter-section (Urquhart, 1965: 310). The Canadian Soldier Settlement Acts of 1917 and 1919

assisted soldiers in settling upon agricultural lands. Financial assistance was also given for the purchase of livestock, equipment, and if necessary for the purchase of lands. Up until March of 1935, 10,828 soldier properties were administered (Fowke, 1946: 184-5).

Another form of land alienation was that of squatters. Squatters are those people who settled on land without right or title to do so. Settlers who did so before the Dominion Land's survey was carried out, were encouraged to legitimize their investments and allowed to register these lands. This was most evident in the pre-survey settlers that used the seigneural system of land use (section 4.3.1, page 42). Other exhibits of land squatting occurred occasionally, but their legitimacy was usually resolved amiably.

Part 3 Results, summary, and conclusions.

Chapter Seven

7.0 Hierarchies of administration affecting settlement

7.1 Introduction

This chapter will place the key administrative Policies that were introduced in Chapters three to six within a context of the various conditions and circumstances of land alienation and settlement for the purposes of agriculture. These Policies include the railway land grants and railroad mileages, railway tax exemptions (section 6.3.1) and the value of Railway lands (Table 6.1), the status of Saskatchewan after 1905, and the regional setting of early settlement.

Considering the study area (forthcoming in Chapter 8 and introduced in section 1.4) a sample of the entire Dominion Land's Survey, one needs to ascertain the kind of relationships that existed amongst the different levels of business and Government in order to lead to a conclusion regarding responsibilities for advances and failures in the area of settlement in Western Canada. There had been changes in the political hierarchies that were responsible for the administration of settlement in the Prairie Provinces during the period of this study (1867-1931). Over time, the transfers of powers cascaded from that of an international Commonwealth colony to the nation level, from the national level to the provincial level, and finally to the regional level.

7.2 Canada as a Colony and as a Nation

The first level of administration dealt with the status of Canada as a British colony has been outlined in sections in 3.4 to 3.9. The British Empire safeguarded their colonies to protect their potential economic worth:

> The Macdonaldian concept of the constitution was a compromise between what Macdonald [as a British High Commissioner], the British governors, and the Colonial Office in Canada had favoured, a legislative union under one Government and one Parliament, and what was in fact necessary. (Hodgins, 1972: 177-179)

Such were the basic elements of Confederation - a union that was imperial rather than federal. [16]

The Canadian administration after 1867 had first dealt with international matters of immigration and various pressures from the U.S. (Chapter 3), as well as the governing of the Indians (section 4.5.3). Prime Minister John A. Macdonald's purpose as a nation builder was to ensure that Canada would not be despoiled of her great territorial inheritance on the North American continent. He was absolutely determined that, as he himself stated, "the United States should not get behind us by right or force and intercept the route to the Pacific" (Creighton, 1979: 47). Macdonald's foremost aim was to ensure, at almost any cost, Canada's

[16] By the Macdonaldian constitution is meant "a constitution preponderantly national in powers and interest, in which the national interests were safeguarded by disallowance … under Section 93 of the B.N.A. Act. The Confederation of 1870, then, was an extremely intricate and subtly poised combination of powers. It rested on the explicit subordination of local powers to central, of the state, and of the province, to the nation. It did not rest on the principle of popular sovereignty. On the contrary, it rested on the traditional concept of allegiance to the Crown in which was vested the right and power to govern. The monarchical and imperial constitution of the United Kingdom was to be used for national ends in the Dominion of Canada. Yet, since the Crown was that of a constitutional and parliamentary monarch, Confederation combined the legal authority of the Crown with the democratic power of the people. The crown was meant to be the centralizing element in Confederation… In a process of judicial refinement, lawyers created out of an imperial system remade for national purposes, a federal system of shared responsibilities. The lawyers set the intriguing problem of monarchial sovereignty operating in a federal system. They used the Crown to bisect the Government of 1867 into two sets of sovereignties". (Hodgins, 1972, 177-8, 191)

continental destiny, her unobstructed expansion from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean (Hodgins, 1972: 49):

> The Macdonaldian constitution rested on the hope that territorial expansion and national prosperity would allow a central Government … to which provinces would be habitually and willingly subordinate (Hodgins, 1972: 191-2).

The province's diminished powers and subordination are exemplified by the facts that the Dominion lands were controlled by the Federal rather than the Provincial Government (section 4.5.1), and the allowance of "fair discrimination" in the setting of railway freight rates (section 5.6).

7.3 Provincial jurisdiction and administration

The third tier of administration that affected western settlement, appeared in 1905 when Saskatchewan and Alberta became provinces, and more so after 1930, when they attained the administrative rights to their lands. When Saskatchewan and Alberta were accorded provincial status in September 1905, the federal Government had still retained the lands and natural resources of these provinces for the purposes of the Dominion. With the inevitable ensuing exhaustion of open homestead lands, the Dominion Policy also technically came to an end (Martin, 1938: 299). The 60 year cycle of land administration within the DLS was virtually complete by 1928. The free-homestead system had performed its function and the remaining DLS resources were reverted to all three Prairie Provinces in 1930.

Friction between the Federal Government and the provinces was caused by Federal instead of Provincial land jurisdiction. The restoration of the land resource to the respective provinces precipitated the settlement of claims entered by the Provincial Governments against the Government of Canada, with respect to the

disposition and administration of the lands while they were in Federal hands. In 1934, a Royal Commission was appointed to recommend the terms of settlement for each of the provinces. Four sittings of the Commission, which totaled 27 days, produced 531 exhibits (Urquhart, 1965: 307).

In material prepared for the Saskatchewan Resources Commission, the Federal Government estimated that before 1905 it had patented 12.5 million acres in Manitoba, 15.0 million acres in Saskatchewan and 14.6 million acres in Alberta (Urquhart, 1965: 309). These acreages included patents issued for all land transfers including homestead, pre-emptions, land sales, grants to Railways, and HBC land. These sales, however, were much more prolific in the years after 1905 (Figure 6.1, page 94).

After the most exhaustive analysis, the Commission in charge of the appraisal found that "the exact amount of any such excess cannot possibly be ascertained by any conceivable method of treatment" (Martin, 1938: 492-3). The report closed with a general conclusion by former Prime Minister Arthur Meighen:

> It is not a hard matter to scramble an egg but it is a very hard matter to unscramble it. It is not a hard matter to retain the resources, but once you have retained them for fifteen to twenty years and adjusted every phase of public policy to the fact that there was retention, then it becomes a matter of very great complexity. (Martin, 1938: 493)

The Federal Government, in the end, gave the provinces $5 million each as compensation for sales of the lands alienated since they became provinces in 1905.[17]

[17] Public Archives of Canada, Post-Confederation Collection, R.G. 15, B.7, (Martin, 1938, 493)

The Provincial powers, in respect to land jurisdiction, were minimal compared to the structure of the Macdonaldian constitution.[18] This was evident in the less than 50 cents per acre the provinces were awarded as compensation for lands sold by the Dominion, and in the case of railway land tax exemptions and avoidance (section 6.3.1).

7.4 Railway land grants and the respective railroad mileages

The CPR had been granted approximately 44.5% of all the land in the DLS (section 4.7), in addition to numerous other benefits (section 5.2) for the construction of the Transcontinental railway. Approximately half of the best agricultural lands of Western Canada, all "fairly fit for settlement" (section 5.5.2), was a phenomenal price to pay for transportation. Saskatchewan had contributed more than 17,000 acres of land for every mile of land grant railroad that was built within its boundaries, for a total acreage of more than 15 million acres for 885 miles of railroad (Martin, 1938: 302). This constituted a significant imbalance: Saskatchewan had received one quarter of the railway mileage, but it contributed nearly half the acreage of the whole federal land grant system (Table 5.3, page 75).

Of all of the land grant railway companies selected lands in Saskatchewan, however, no fewer than seven of these companies had no mileage whatsoever in the province. (See Table 5.2, page 70). This disproportion was a direct result of the

[18] In contrast, the powers given to the provinces were "merely local and private in nature. They were subordinate Governments in both appearance and in fact. They had no great tasks to perform and were given no great powers. Thus Confederation in its Macdonaldian conception was a strongly centralized Government which made no more provision for local Government than was necessary to obtain assent to Confederation from the colonial legislatures. Such subordination, it was hoped, would prove acceptable in the general expansion and prosperity which, it was also hoped, Confederation would bring". (Hodgins, 1977, 177-8)

Government Policy which permitted “indemnity selection of land” and will be discussed in section 7.6.

7.5 The pioneer regional setting

There had been a relatively small flow of settlers into the West prior to 1886. The quarter-sections closest to the railroad were usually settled first, and the new homesteader had to venture farther and farther from this means of transportation. The homesteader looked for fertile land with a source of water and wood, and the parkland area of northern Saskatchewan provided these (Archer, 1980: 99-100). Although the homesteads were free, money was required for equipment, draught animals and supplies. It was estimated that the minimum amount of capital required to begin farming was $1,000 (Archer, 1980: 100):

> The plough, which was needed to break the prairie sod, was the most important investment. This was followed by the seed drill, binder, mower and threshing machine. The source of power was provided by ox and horse. Oxen were cheaper and could live off the land, while horses required grain with their fodder. Oxen did not depreciate with age, and their meat could be used as a source of protein. The ox however, was much slower and hence less productive than the horse. Those who found it necessary to buy oxen looked to the day when they could afford the undisputed king of draught animal - the horse. (Archer, 1980: 102)

The Saskatchewan River system, which included the North Saskatchewan, the South Saskatchewan and the Saskatchewan Rivers, had been the great highway for explorers and the fur traders. Settlers, however, “regarded any river as a barrier” (Archer, 1980: 147). Bridges were expensive and ferry service was undependable. At least 8 steamboats had operated on the Saskatchewan river system between 1874 and 1890. Their services were plagued with rapids, sandbars and rocks, but in 1881 the traffic was sufficient to post rates. General fare from Fort Garry (Winnipeg) to Edmonton for cabin passengers was $70, deck passengers

paid $35, and freight was shipped at 6 ¼ cents per pound (Archer, 1980: 68). On November 5 1881 the Edmonton Bulletin wrote

> The [North] Saskatchewan [River] is considered by some not to be fit for navigation to any extent, but is must be very bad indeed if it is not better than slow going oxen on a muddy road 1,000 miles long … (Thomas, 1975: 321)

The steamboat era faded with the advent of the railroads.

Overland stage and wagon trails connected Prince Albert with Qu'appelle, Saskatoon with Moose Jaw and Regina, and North Battleford to Swift Current. The common rate of progress made by heavy freight carts was about twenty miles a day, of ten traveling hours, with a load averaging about eight hundred pounds (Thomas, 1975: 317). Edmonton Bulletin, January 21, 1882 wrote

> One of the greatest drawbacks to emigration to this part of the North-West is the difficulty of getting here caused by the length and badness of the road. Although there are four different trails by which to reach Edmonton from the east … they are all so bad it is questionable which is the worst. (Thomas, 1975: 316)

7.6 Land-lock

A most important component in the discussion of the lands of the railway was the phenomenon of land-lock. Recipients of railway land grants were expected to select lands contiguous to the routes of their railways. In 1903 the Dominion Government, however, had legalized the process known as "indemnity selection" whereby the holders of land grants were permitted to select unpatented lands anywhere within the DLS (Stevens, Vol.2, 1962: 54). This privilege put the Railways in the land business on a large scale, and in areas where they might never build branch-lines. There were often long delays before the Railways selected and patented the lands to which they were entitled:

> The inevitable result was that the land subsidy reservations became separated from the location of the railway line to which they related. This separation operated to the detriment of the intent on which the subsidy was based, that the railway would sell its subsidy lands quickly to encourage settlement and, therefore expand traffic on its lines. (Lambrecht, 1991: 18-19)

A systemic problem was created by the decision to place railway land subsidies in alternate sections through unappropriated Dominion lands (Lambrecht, 1991: 250):

> Since the railways were slow to select their land grant subsidies, which further delayed the marketing of these lands, half of the lands in many townships were effectively closed to settlement until the railways selected their lands. This land-lock existed for an entire generation. (Martin, 1938: 505)

This served to reduce the land in each township which was available for entry, and so to reduce the density of settlement (Lambrecht, 1991: 25).

In 1908 the Railways were finally compelled to complete the selection of their land subsidies from the lands reserved for that purpose. The pre-emption that was offered in 1908 was cancelled by Order in Council in 1918, in anticipation of the demand for land to meet the soldier settlement program.

7.7 Settlement in relation to railroads and the distance to grain market

In the whole of the North West Territories in 1901 there were 50 railway stations. In that part of the Territories now forming Saskatchewan there were no cities, 7 towns, and 30 villages. Hamlets constituted market centres and a small number of these existed in 1901 (Fowke, 1946: 71). In 1910, the greater part of the settled area in Saskatchewan was still more than ten miles from the railroad, and grain was frequently hauled by draught animals from 30 to 50 miles to a station or

siding (Macintosh, 1934, vol.1: 53-6). The value of the settler's time was small and the importance of the cash income for the agriculturist was very great.

Settlement in remote areas, such as the area of study, would not have been undertaken except in the anticipation that a railroad would follow:

> In some cases the railroad was either under construction or being surveyed, and in others there was merely the hope that such a good land must soon attract a railroad. (Macintosh, 1934, vol.1: 53)

Branch-line railroads had followed the population and population had settled in anticipation of the railroads (forthcoming in section 9.5).

It is clear that settlement attracted more settlement, and railroad construction, like settlement, was also cumulative. Although settlement before 1900 was slow, it was significant, for it comprised many colonies of widely diffused cultural and geographic origins. These progressions as noted by Fowke, (1946: 187) "acted as nuclei for later and more substantial… population [growth]."

Good free land that was close to a railroad line was not unlimited. "The transportation of grain to market by railroad was fundamental to the health of the grain economy" (Archer, 1980: 140). The general conclusion of studies made by the Canadian National Railways in projecting branch lines was

> that while, in exceptional circumstances, grain may be hauled distances up to fifty miles, the practical limit is in the vicinity of ten miles. (Macintosh, 1934, vol.1: 55)

Settlers in Fort St. John, Alberta hauled their grain to the Peace River, where it was bagged and shipped by steamer 150 miles to the railway at Peace River Crossing, at a cost of 25 cents a bushel (Macintosh, 1934, vol.1: 56). Little wheat was grown under these circumstances and wheat grown far from the railroad was sufficient to meet only the most pressing needs for cash.

Wherever possible, grain was converted into livestock, which was a more valuable product and better to stand the cost of transport. Conversion of field grains to cattle and hogs was a means of condensing the bulk of transport. One settler in northern Saskatchewan, more than 100 miles from a railway, is said to have met his difficult transportation problem by growing potatoes and other vegetables, which he traded with the Indians for furs, which in turn were shipped out to the nearest market (Macintosh, 1934, vol.1: 56-7).

The final tier of administration was less a political hierarchy than a physical feature: it was the regional branch-line railroads. Railroad branch-line development lagged behind the needs as perceived by settlers that had arrived in advance of projected rail lines. The size of the area that was not serviced by a railroad in the first decade of the 20th century was a manifestation of the rapidity of settlement. As such "railroads had followed the population, and the population settled in anticipation of the railroads" (MacIntosh, 1934, Vol. 1: 54). Regions that were connected sooner were populated and developed sooner. More advanced settlement occurred in proximity to the railroad mainlines and subsequent branch-lines.

7.8 Service centres

As previously stated (section 7.7), in the whole of the North West Territories there were 50 railway stations in 1901. By 1931 the railway network had expanded and 80 percent of all Saskatchewan farms were within ten miles of a

railway station and only 5.6 per cent were more than fifteen miles away (Fowke, 1946: 69-70). Market centres[19] also increased rapidly in numbers after 1900.

In 1930 in Saskatchewan there were 1,007 market centres situated on the railroads and serving a population of 921,785 which was 70% rural (Fowke, 1946: 71). Market centres were placed along railroads to provide a highly decentralized distributive system which followed closely with the movement of the branch-line frontier. The Canadian Prairie Provinces showed an increase in the numbers of trade centres from 1910 to 1930 (Fowke, 1946: 71-4).

7.9 Wheat prices and the economy

Fortunately, while experiencing the countless hardships of settlement, the economy during most of the first three decades of the 20th century was strong. The prosperity of the first decade of the 20th century was partly due to a rise in the price of wheat. The average price of No. 1 Northern wheat at Winnipeg rose from 75 cents in 1901 to 109 cents in 1909 (Morton, 1938: 175). Table 7.1 shows wheat prices.

[19] Few data are available but typical market centres were approximately eight miles apart. Along the lines, railways built stations where an agent offered freight, express, passenger and telegraph services. Three to five or more grain elevators were built and owned independently of the railways. (Fowke, 1946, 71-2)

Table 7.1 Wheat prices 1901 to 1925 (Price indexed by grain commodity).

Year	price in cents per bushel	constant $ value (1900=100)		Year	price in cents per bushel	constant $ value (1900=100)
1901	75	109		1916	138	72
1904	92	126		1917	220	73
1906	76	123		1918	222	67
1909	109	153		1919	221	74
1910	100	137		1920	220	62
1911	94	142		1921	164	76
1912	97	160		1922	123	69
1913	87	133		1923	108	66
1914	98	152		1924	127	68
1915	128	181		1925	164	75

Source: Morton, 1938: 171-175 and Urquhart, 1965: 291.

World War 1 had mixed effects on the Saskatchewan economy. It relieved unemployment, but the total acreage seeded to field crops declined in 1914. The war brought a sharp rise in agricultural prices and it stimulated the production and sale of butter and cheese. The demand for wheat had caused farmers to turn from mixed farming and to concentrate on grain farming. By 1919, "farmers were further from self-sufficiency than they were in 1914" (Archer, 1980: 184). The great increase of acreage sewn to wheat between 1915 and 1920 was due to economic demand related to the war (Archer, 1980: 171).

7.10 Patterns of change in the size of farm units

In areas where dry farming and summer-fallowing proved necessary on a large scale, a half-section or more was recognized by agriculturists, as a much more dependable unit for successful agriculture:

> Had all the Dominion Lands been open to homestead entry, a quarter-section would have been too small a farm unit for this technique…It was a remarkable circumstance that practically every enterprising homesteader in Western Canada, after establishing themselves on their own free quarter section, had a reasonably assured prospect of buying an adjoining quarter section, and of developing, a more effective farm unit. (Martin, 1938: 517 and 304)

Most of the settlers took advantage of the hybrid combination of free-homesteads and the system of buying land. By 1926, the free homestead of 160 acres had ceased to be the staple farm unit in Western Canada and the average holding in Saskatchewan was 389 acres (Martin, 1938: 500-503). Even though the free homestead land formed the original nucleus, 229 acres out of 389 (nearly 59% of holdings) were acquired by land purchase. The general formula that serviced this transition was as follows: a 160 acre quarter-section of free homestead plus another 160 acre quarter-section purchased at $12 per acre, equals 320 acres at $6 per acre.

Time, however, has transformed some of the defects of the land-lock into advantages. The land-lock inadvertently turned into a blessing for the agriculturists. Pre-emption Policy had allowed the homesteader to “purchase before others”, their adjoining quarter-section of land (section 6.2).

Another positive effect the Railways had on settlement was that railroad construction had offered an opportunity for work. This employment helped the farmers get on their feet. The Edmonton Land Agent reports for 1913

> The large amount of railway building has been the means of distributing an amount of money through the country which at the present time is very beneficial to a number of settlers who have to depend largely on the employment they can procure to tide them over the first unproductive years of homesteading…. (Macintosh, 1934, Vol. 1: 141-3)

Part 2 Study area, summary, and conclusions.

Chapter eight

8.0 Identification, analysis, and illustration of a settlement pattern

8.1 Introduction

The question I am addressing in this thesis is what kind of impact, if any, did the Government and Railway policies, as outlined in the previous chapters, have on settlement of north-western Saskatchewan between 1867 and 1931. The second question addressed here is whether there was, as a result of Government and Railway Policy, a spatio-temporal pattern in the study area? This chapter addresses this question, and seeks to identify, analyse and illustrate a spatio-temporal settlement pattern. The previous chapters point to some characteristics of Government and Railway policies affecting settlement.

This chapter will provide a detailed account of the first settlement of the land for the purposes of agriculture between 1900 and 1931 in the area of study in north-western Saskatchewan (introduced in Figures 1.1 and 1.2, pages 5 and 7). Significant features that existed in the period of study (1867-1931) are introduced in the aforementioned figures, to include the railroad branch-lines, railroad sidings, and towns in the area. Map representations in this chapter will show the process of settlement during selected years and will illustrate the disposition and alienation of the land as a structured system in space and time.

8.2 Data sources and data compilation methodology

Dent (1993) defines geography as

> the science of spatial analysis and that the distinctive thrust of the discipline is its attempt to answer the question: why are spatial distributions structured the way they are? (Dent, 1967: 75)

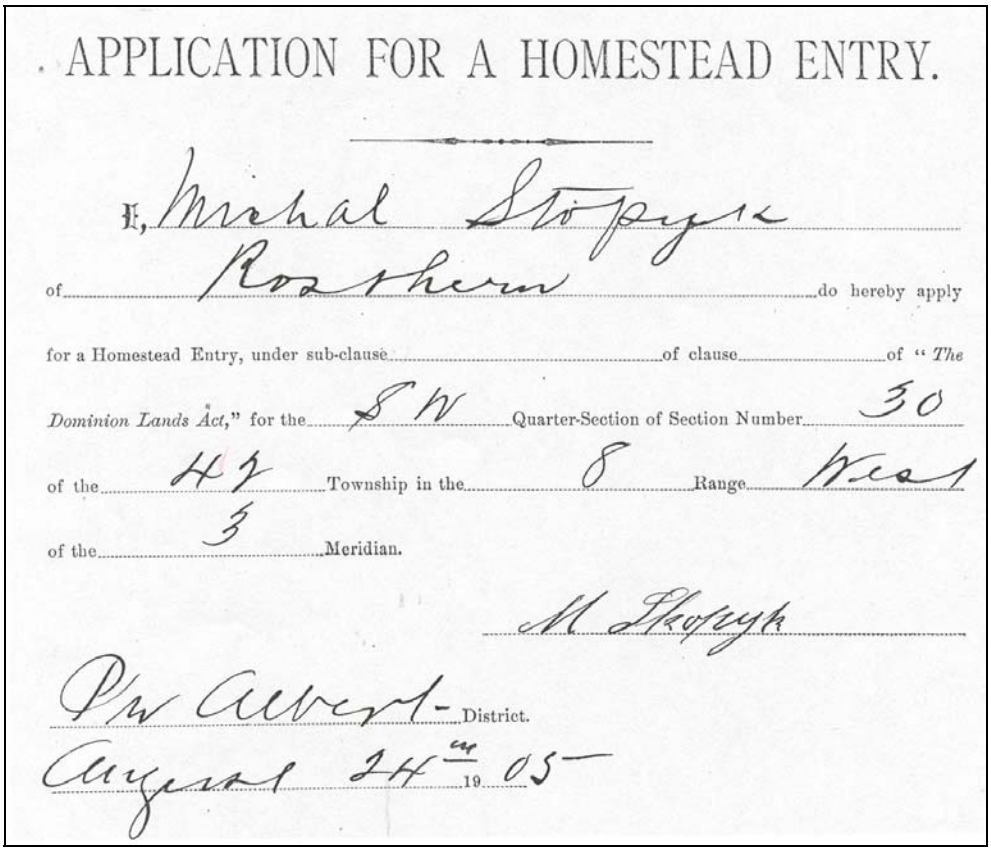
Within geography, "any phenomenon that has or can be thought to have a spatial attribute is subject to geographical inquiry" (Hartstone, 1977: 67). The application of a Geographic Information System (GIS) to a land settlement inventory in Western Canada has not to my knowledge occurred. This may be true because of the difficulty in collecting historical data that is required for analysis.

The dates of habitation by settlers on a land parcel were extracted from the homestead files and the township registers in the Saskatchewan Archives in Regina and Saskatoon, Saskatchewan; from the Glenbow Archives[20]; from the Cummins map series[21] and the Saskatchewan Archives[22]. See Figure 8.1 for a example of an "Application for a Homestead".

[20] The Glenbow Archives consist of 229 volumes of Canadian Pacific Railway Land Sales and rural and townsite land sales in western Canada. The Archives, based in Calgary, Alberta, contain descriptions of unpublished archival records, such as diaries, letters, and minute books, for over 3000 families, organizations, and businesses in southern Alberta.

[21] The Cummins Map Company, with offices in Regina and Winnipeg, published a series of township maps between 1917 and 1930, for all DLS lands in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta. Cummins maps included the names of all landowners for each quarter-section of land.

[22] The Saskatchewan Archives house all Homestead documents including Applications for a Homestead and records of Patent. Each quarter-section in the DLS can be sought either by land location, or by the applicant's surname. It is tedious to extract data from the fragile documents, with an access limit of 30 files per day.



APPLICATION FOR A HOMESTEAD ENTRY.

I, Michal Stopyra

of Rosthern do hereby apply

for a Homestead Entry, under sub-clause ..... of clause ..... of "*The Dominion Lands Act*," for the SW Quarter-Section of Section Number 30

of the 42 Township in the 8 Range West

of the 3 Meridian.

M Stopyra

Pr Albert District.

August 24th 1905

Figure 8.1 Application for a Homestead Entry.

Source: Saskatchewan Archives, Homestead files (W3R8T42S30SW)

The "Township Register" is a 124 volume collection that summarizes approximately 500,000 Homestead files. This condensed archive describes the land location, name of homesteader, and the year of Homestead application. Each page of the Township Register (50 by 70 centimeters), describes an abbreviated history of 12 quarter-sections of land, as they were spatially allocated in the Dominion Lands survey[23].

[23] To expedite the extraction of the data, over 1,000 digital photographs were taken from selected volumes of the Township Register. The required data was then manually transcribed from the digital photos and entered into a Microsoft Excel Program.

The quarter-section shapefile of Saskatchewan was utilized as a base for the spatial data.[24] The data in the attribute table of the Saskatchewan qs shapefile is vast, and includes over 500,000 rows and 20 columns of data. Each quarter-section is given a spatial coordinate within the attribute table.

One limitation of the Excel software used in the transcriptions, however, is that a maximum of 64,000 rows of data can be recorded. This necessitated the transfer of the data to SPSS, a program that could accommodate the data. This permitted the joining of the digitized data from the study area to the 500,000 rows of data in the attribute table of the Saskatchewan qs shapefile. The join process attached the spatially identified location of each qs to two fields of attribute data. The two attribute fields that were joined were the quarter-section's respective "proprietorship" and the "year" in which the land was alienated.

Within its attribute table, the GIS ArcMap software permitted the sorting, editing, and necessary manipulation of the data for the study area. ArcMap permitted the production of map representations of all the quarter-section of land in the study area, to illustrate changes over time. Each qs is discrete and appears only once in the context of settlement. Map representations portray only original settlement, regardless of later transactions of these lands.

The maps in this chapter represent the location of 9005 qs in the study area. Given the complexities of linking the extensive amount of data to both temporal and spatial scales, the use of GIS permits the representation of the land's proprietorship over time and space. Visual representations are produced in the

[24] A shapefile is "a data structure that stores the geometry and attribute information for geographic features in a data set. The geometry for each feature is stored as a shape comprising a set of vector coordinates and is linked to their attributes". (Demers, 2003, 128)

maps of this chapter, to assist in the analysis of the data and the identification of a settlement pattern.

8.3 Land propriety in the study area

Within the study area, Indian Reserve land comprised 474 qs, provincial forest reserves covered 102 qs, and lakes and ponds covered 135 qs. Towns and transportation routes, together with a number of quarter-section with unknown proprietorship, total 31 qs. The total lands not open to agriculture is 742 qs (8.2% of the total land in the study area).

An additional 244 qs are either partially covered with water or were classified as marginal for agricultural purposes. These lands however were available for purchase by agriculturists and were sold by the acre. The propriety of the remaining 8,263 qs was homestead, CPR, CNoR, Hudson's Bay Company, school district, and land companies. See Table 8.1 and Figure 8.2 for a summary of land propriety in the study area.

Table 8.1 Propriety of land in the study area (1931)

Proprietor	Total # of qs	% of total land
Indian Reserve	474	5.3
Provincial forest	102	1.1
Water	135	1.5
Towns & other	31	0.4
Total non-agricultural	**742**	**8.3**
Homestead	5211	57.9
Canadian Pacific Railway	1537	17.1
Canadian Northern Railway	504	5.6
Land Companies	363	4.0
Hudson's Bay Company	103	1.1
School districts	301	3.3
Pre-emption and partial	244	2.7
Total agricultural	**8263**	**91.7**
Total in study area	**9005**	**100.0**

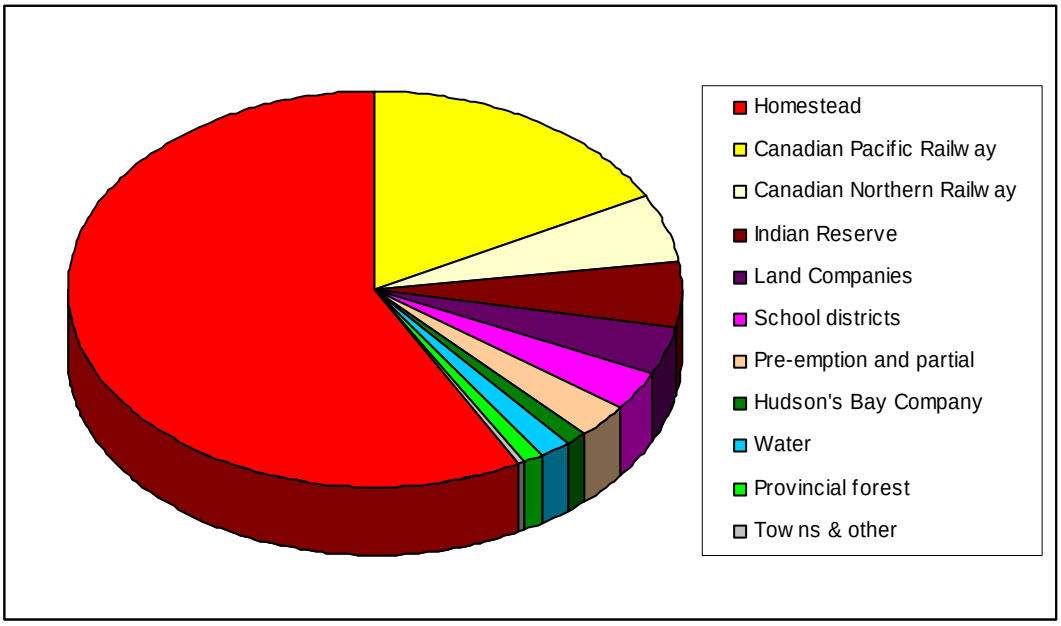


Figure 8.2 Proportion of land in study area by each proprietor (1931).

8.4 Representation of agricultural settlement

Prior to the sale of quarter-section to agriculturists, the lands were owned by various proprietors in a state of intermediate alienation (section 6.2). The lands of the various proprietors, including that of homesteads, Government sales, Railways, schools, HBC, and land companies are represented on maps at selected years. See Figure 8.3 for the settlement attained by land alienation from all proprietors at the conclusion of the period of study in 1931.

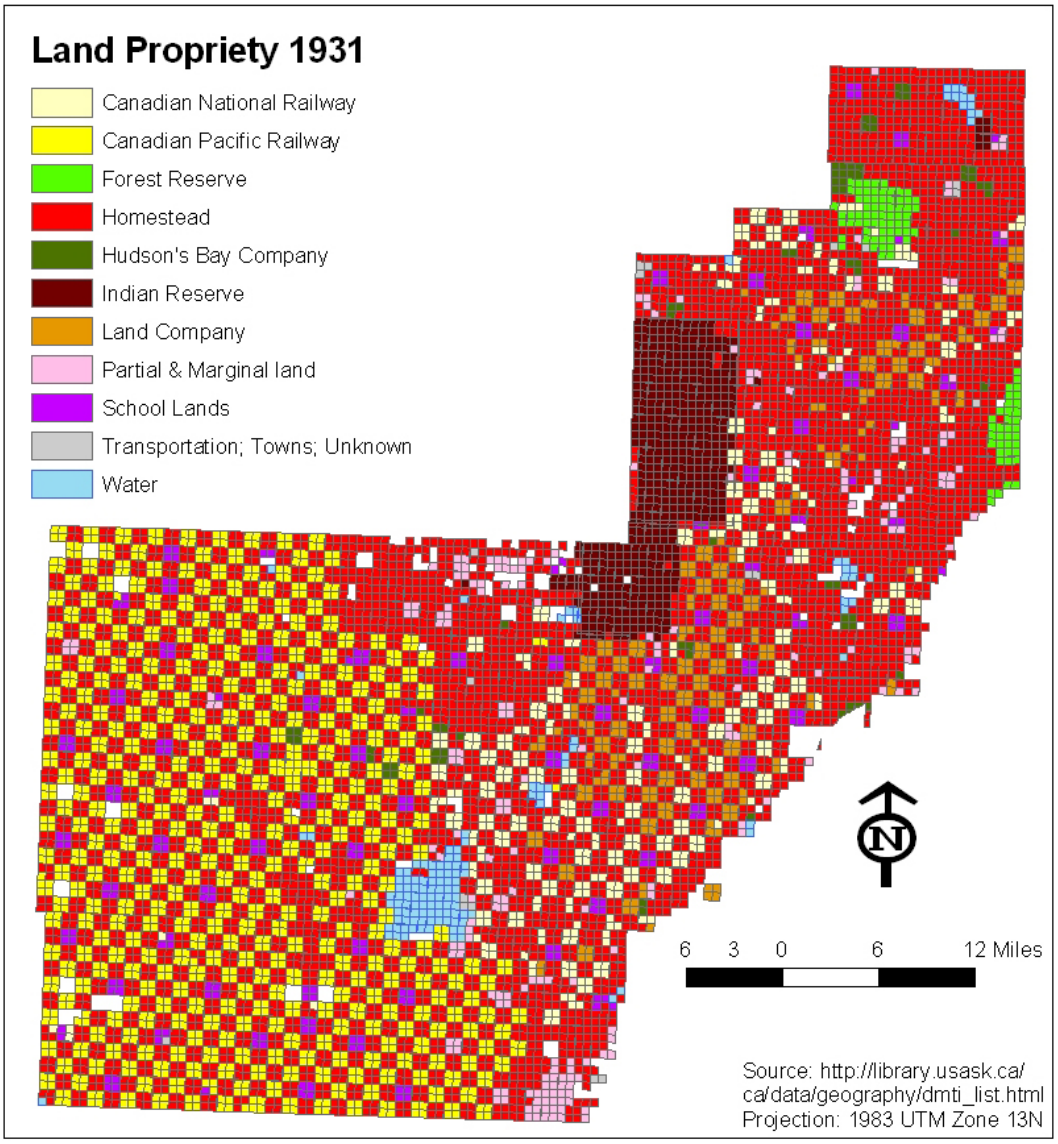


Figure 8.3 Distribution of land by ownership and acquisition from all forms of alienation in the area of study at the conclusion of the period of study (1931).

The 8263 quarter-sections of agricultural lands will be examined in figures 8.4 to 8.9 to investigate if a pattern can be identified in the initial settlement, in the timing and selection of the quarter-sections for agricultural purposes. Homestead lands were usually designated within even-numbered sections and the remainder of the lands, except for HBC lands, were located on odd-numbered sections. Table 8.2 shows the alienation of all lands in the study area at selected intervals.

Table 8.2 Total number of quarter-sections (qs) and total running % of qs for land alienated from each propriety in the study area (7 year intervals).

Land Proprietor	Total # of qs	% of total land	qs before 1901	1901-1907 Total	1901-1907 %	1908-1914 Total	1908-1914 %	1915-1921 Total	1915-1921 %	1922-1928 Total	1922-1928 %	qs after 1928	Average year of alienation
Candian Northern Railway	504	*5.6%*	0	0	*0*	170	*36.1%*	183	*75.0%*	90	*94.1%*	28	1917.2
Canadian Pacific Railway	1537	*17.1%*	0	597	*38.9%*	103	*45.6%*	213	*59.5%*	462	*89.6%*	166	1917.3
Land Companies	363	*4.0%*	3	143	*41.8%*	46	*55.0%*	147	*97.1%*	8	*99.4%*	1	1911.5
Hudson's Bay Company	103	*1.1%*	10	5	*19.0%*	3	*22.8%*	7	*31.7%*	18	*54.4%*	36	1919.0
Pre-emption and partial qs	244	*2.7%*	3	13	*6.6%*	50	*27.1%*	40	*43.4%*	27	*54.5%*	91	1928.3
School Lands	301	*3.3%*	0	4	*1.3%*	5	*3.0%*	64	*25.4%*	84	*54.7%*	130	1932.8
Total of all land sales	**3052**	***33.9%***	**16**	**762**	***26.2%***	**377**	***39.0%***	**654**	***61.3%***	**689**	***84.7%***	**452**	**1919.1**
Homestead land	**5211**	***57.9%***	**91**	**2843**	***52.5%***	**2012**	***93.6%***	**155**	***96.7%***	**66**	***98.1%***	**31**	**1907.5**
Total non-agricultural	**742**	***8.2%***											
Total # of qs in study area	**9005**	***100%***											**1910.0**

The homestead lands are the most prolific, consisting of 5411 quarter-section and 57.9% of all lands in the study area. The order of homestead settlement can be seen as having predominately originated from two sources, the cities of Prince Albert and North Battleford. Settlement first moved outward from Prince Albert, which was connected with a railroad in 1891. In a similar fashion, settlement expanded from North Battleford even before the completion of the railroad that connected it to Saskatoon in 1905.

Homestead lands achieved 93.6% of their total settlement by the year 1914. The average timing of homestead acquisitions in the region of study was mid-year of 1907. See Figure 8.4 for a map of homestead settlement at selected year intervals.

The lands of the Railways comprised 22.7% of the total land in the region and the lands of the land companies added another 4% to the total. Up until 1907, the CNoR had sold no quarter-sections of land whatsoever, however by that date the sales by their land company associates totaled 143 qs and 41.8% of the land allocated to them. At that same date the CPR had sold 597 qs or 45.6% of their lands in the region. The land sales of all three proprietors was virtually stagnant for the next decade, however by 1921 the CNoR achieved 75% of their total land sales, the CPR 59.5% of their sales, and the Land Companies had achieved over 97% of their sales. The average year of land alienation for both the CNoR and the CPR was 1917, while the average year of alienation for the land companies was mid-year 1911. See Figure 8.5 for a map of railway land sales at selected years.

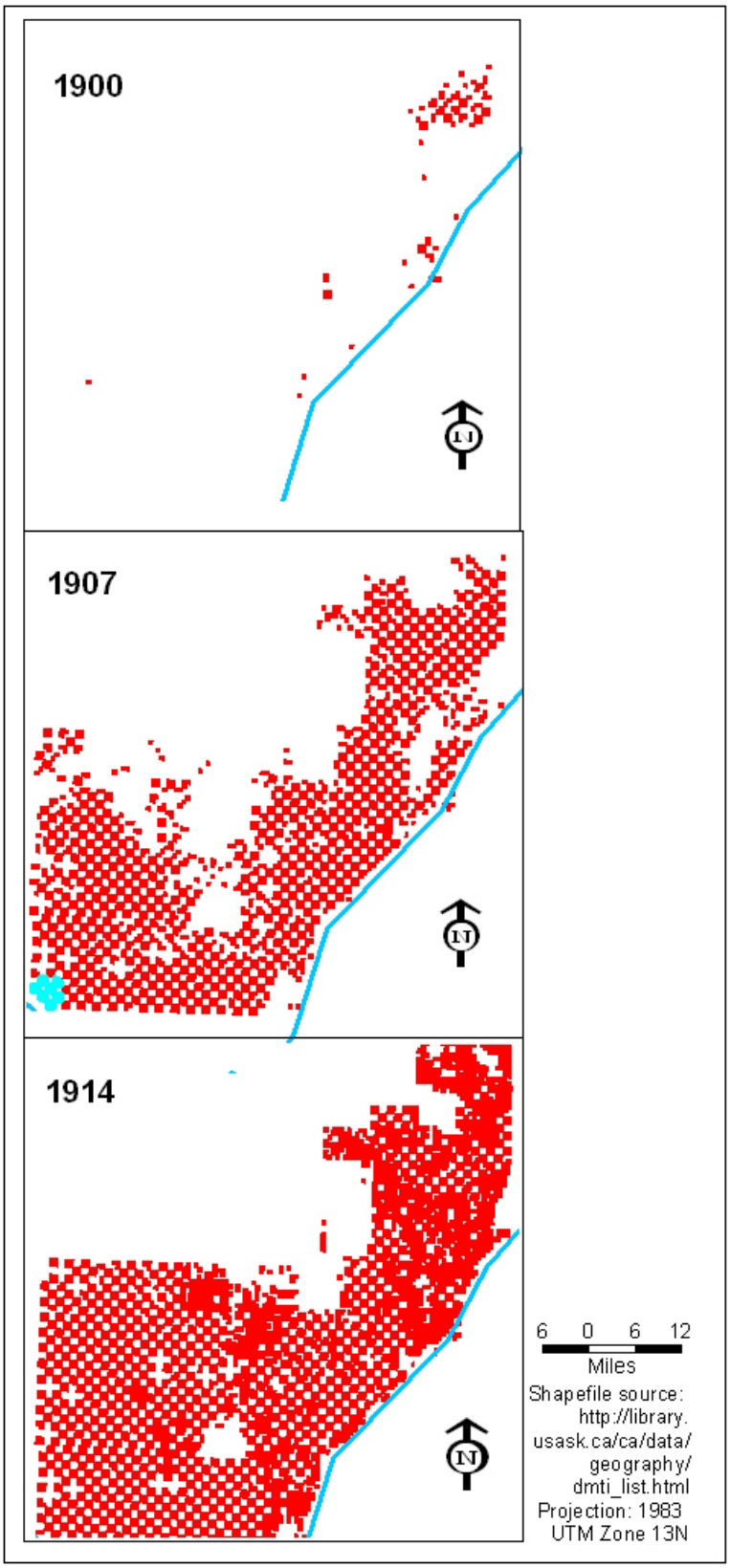


Figure 8.4 Homestead settlement at selected years.

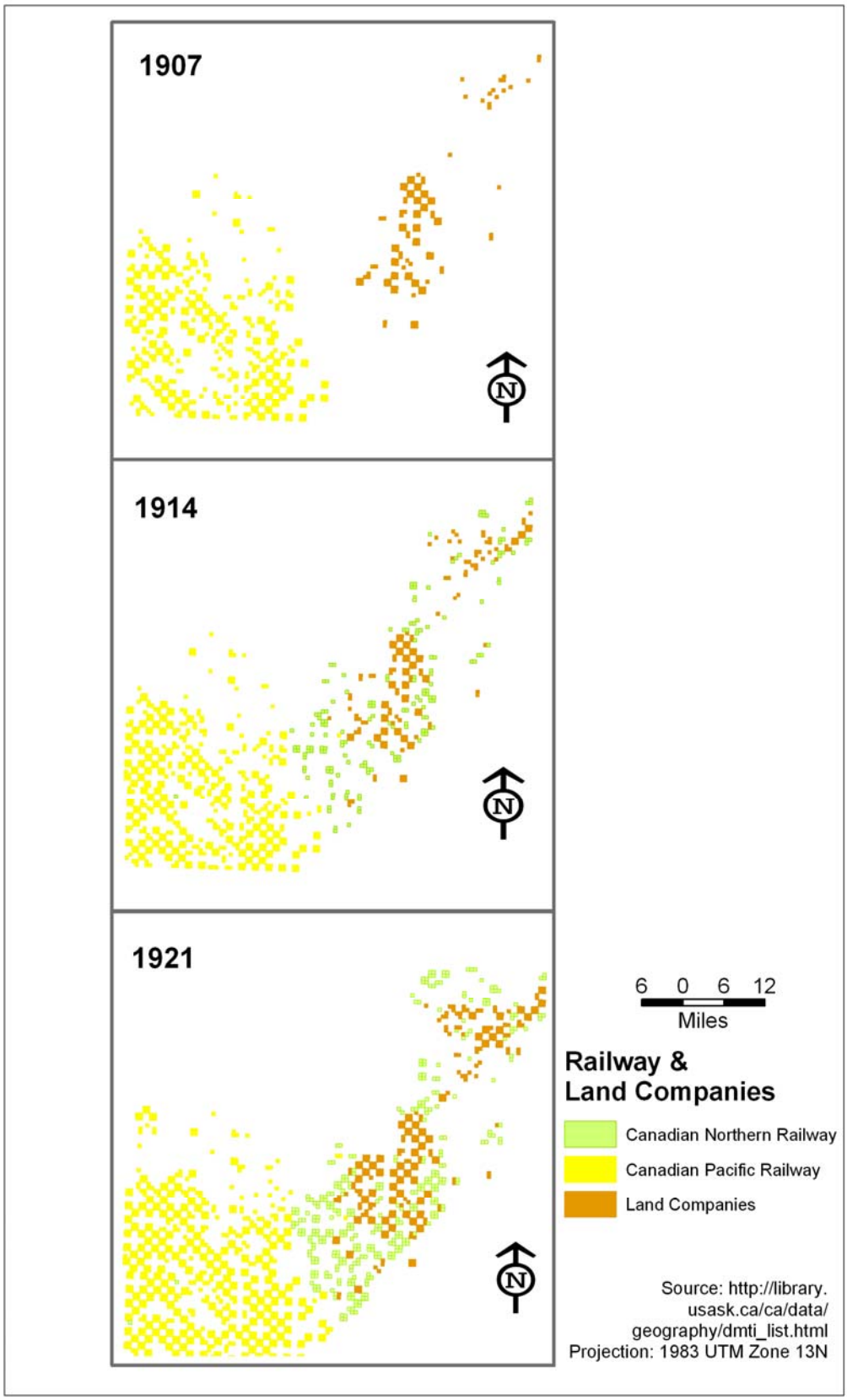


Figure 8.5 Railway land sales at selected years.

By 1914 the Dominion's sales of the pre-emption lands and the partial lands to agriculturists achieved only 27.1% of their total lands, the lands of the HBC only 22.8% and the school lands only 3%. The average year of pre-emption and partial land sales was 1928, HBC lands 1919 and school lands 1933. These lands however totaled only 648 qs (7.1%) of all the lands in the study area.

The spatial pattern of the HBC (sections 11 and 29) and the school lands (sections 8 and 26) is consistent in most townships and the sales of all three land types occurred later than all other proprietors. In 1928, all three proprietors had achieved only 54-55% of their sales from their total land reserves. See Figure 8.6 for a representation of lands sold as pre-emption, HBC and the schools in 1928.

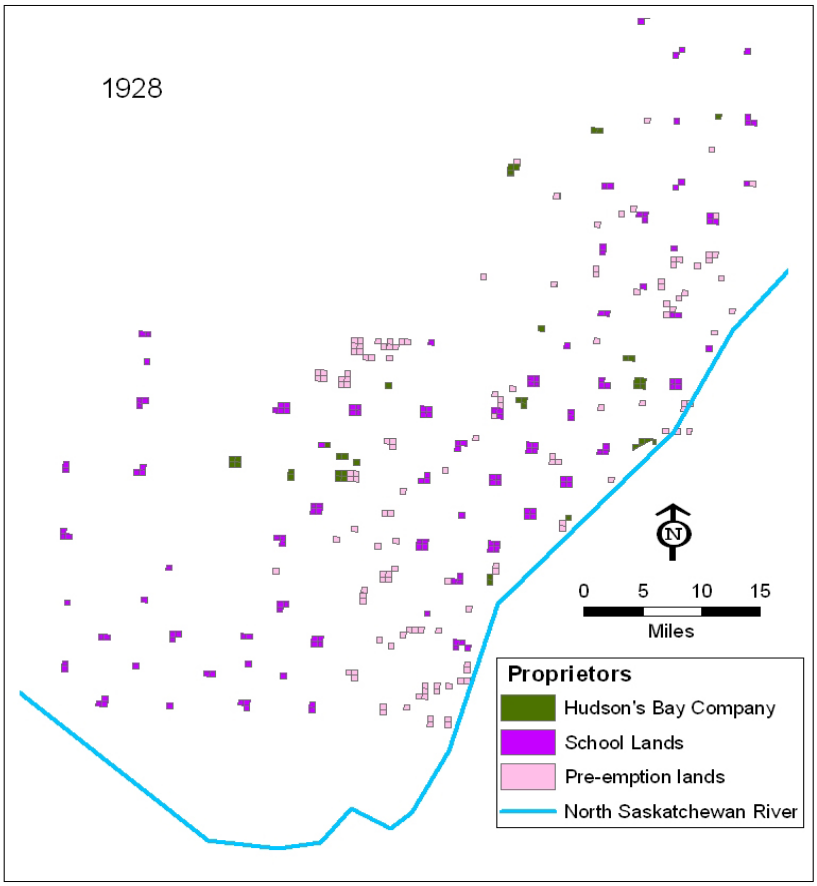


Figure 8.6 HBC, School and Pre-emption land sold by 1928.

NAD Projection: NAD83 UTM Zone13N Source: http;//library.usask.ca/ca/data/

Figures 8.4 to 8.6 serve to separate the original proprietary status of the lands, and illustrate the extent of settlement that occurred at selected years. When the lands from the various proprietors are aggregated, the years of land sales can be illustrated and compared. As previously stated, the average timing of homestead settlement was mid-1907. This was a decade prior to that of the average timing of Railway land sales (1917), and 20-25 years before the average year of pre-emption and partial land sales (1928) and school lands (1932). This delay is illustrated in Figure 8.7 which represents only those lands that were alienated after 1914.

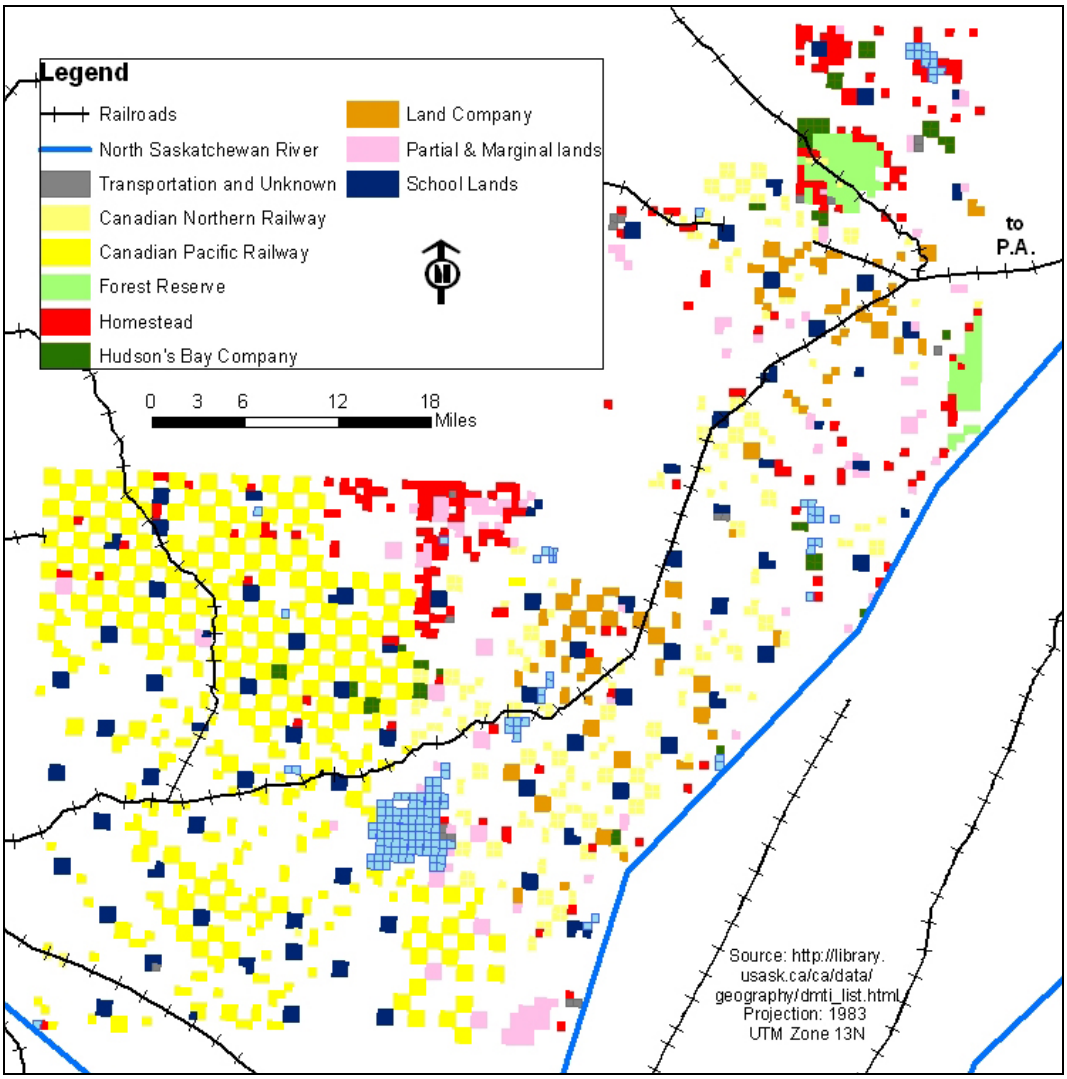


Figure 8.7 Land sales after 1914 by all proprietors

The DLS proprietary template that was conceived in 1872 was, with some exceptions, the basis of allocating land to the various proprietors in the Prairie West during the settlement period (section 4.4). The exceptions include Indian Reserves, Forest Reserves, towns, and the lands that were settled prior to the DLS survey.

The series of maps in Figures 8.4 to 8.7 begin to illustrate a spatio-temporal pattern within each proprietorship. The spatial proprietary pattern can be described as a checkerboard or grid pattern. The survey had given a distinctive pattern to the Canadian prairies and the road allowances gave definition to the boundaries of the grid. See Figure 8.8 for a series of maps at selected intervals that represent land alienation acquired from all proprietors.

The temporal dimension is presented by means of maps using three approaches. The first map representations (Figures 8.4 to 8.6) illustrate the extent of settlement from each proprietor within the region at selected dates. The second means of representation aggregates land alienations by all proprietors at selected intervals of years in Figures 8.7 and 8.8. This allows an immediate comparison of land alienations that occurred amongst all of the intermediate proprietors.

The third approach uses a computer generated three-dimensional map representation to depict the alienation of the lands. The single map in Figure 8.9 represents land alienation from all the proprietors from 1900 to 1931. This three-dimensional representation presents time on the vertical (z) axis. The lands that were alienated by agriculturists first (1900), appear lowest in elevation at the bottom tier of a 30 step axis. The lands that was settled latest (1930), appear to be uppermost in elevation on the “z” axis, with intermediate points in between.

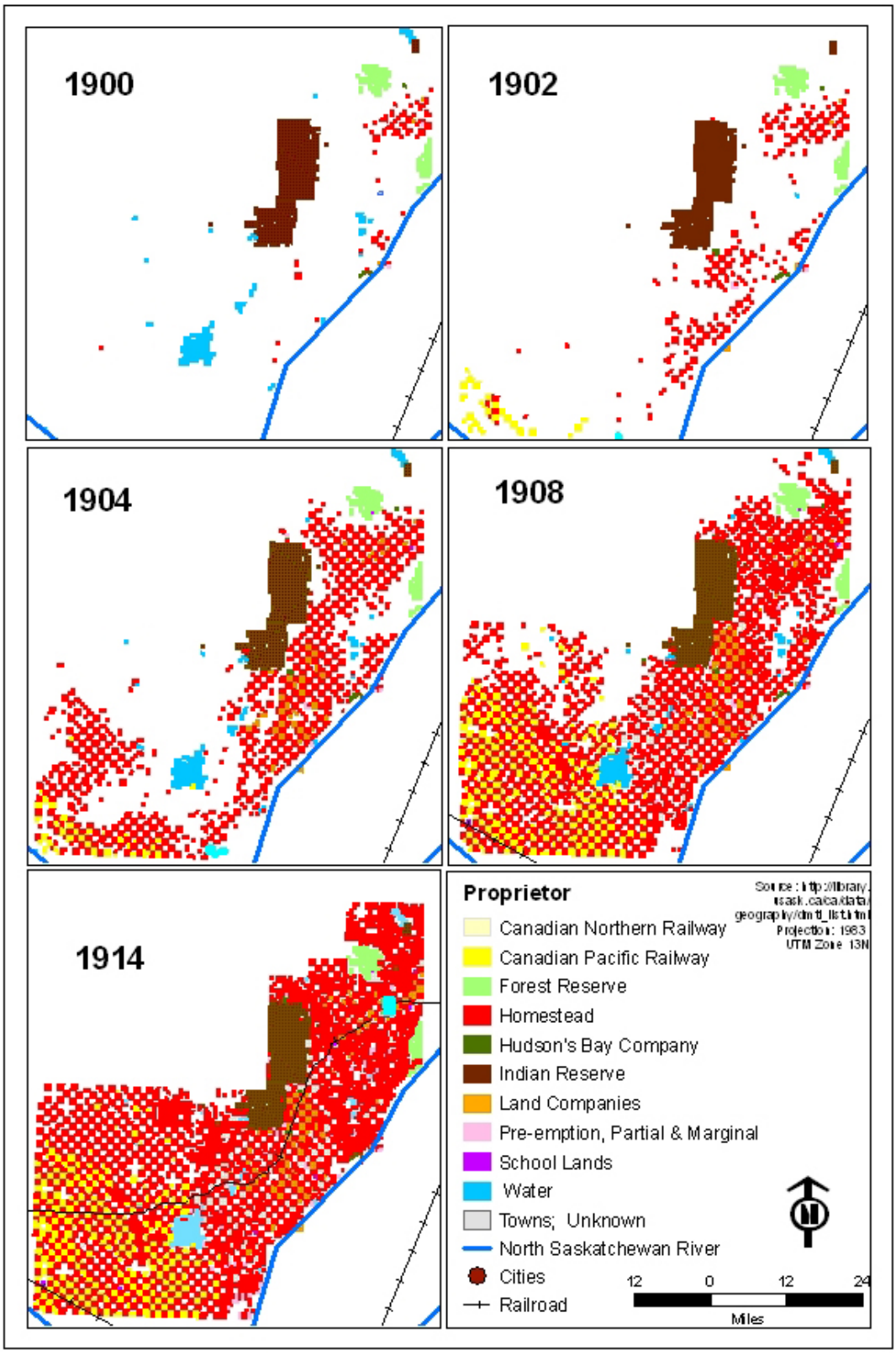
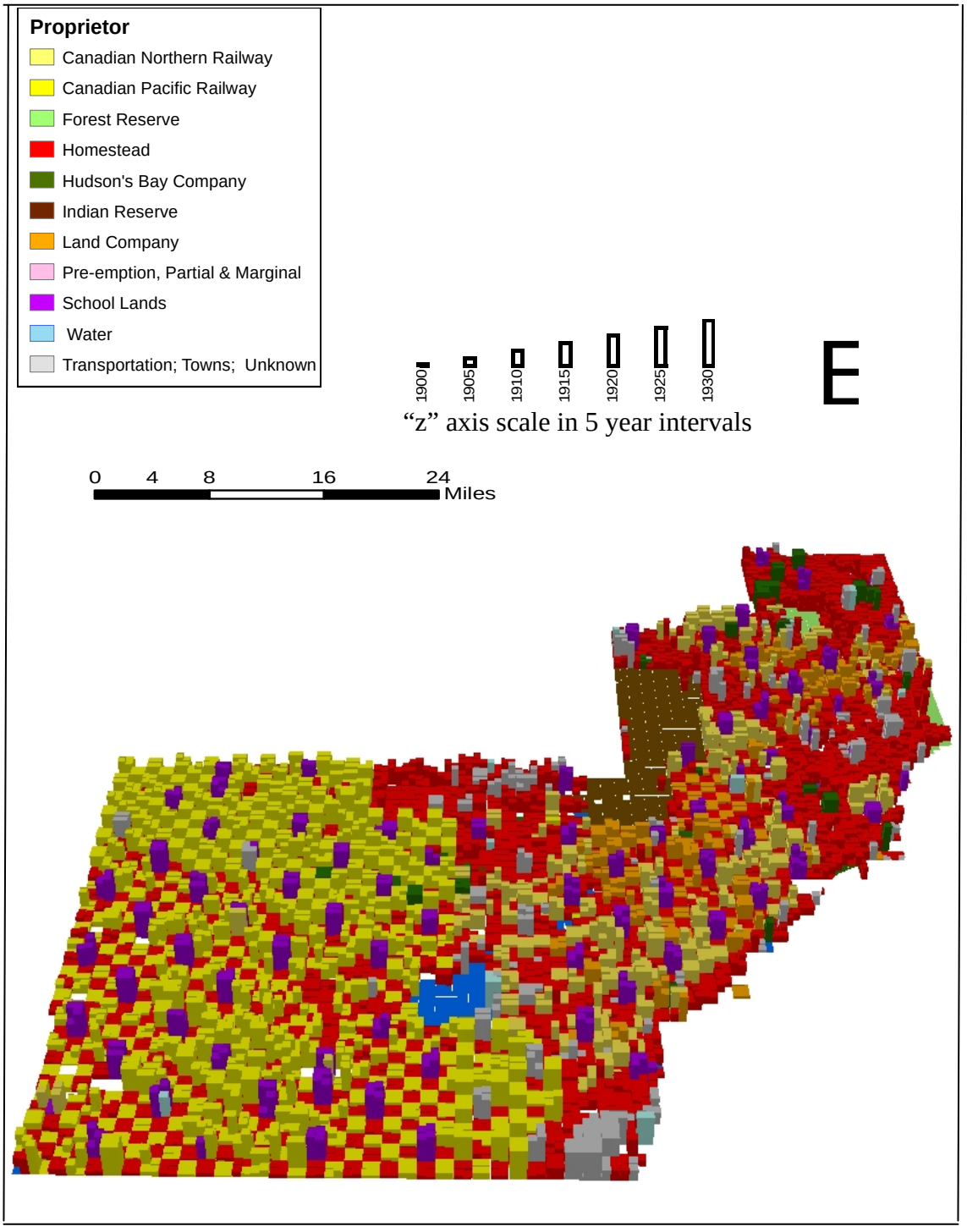


Figure 8.8 Settlement from all proprietors at selected intervals.



Figures 8.9 Three-dimensional spatio-temporal representation of settlement in the study area 1900-1930.

ArcScene NAD Projection: NAD83 UTM Zone13N. Source:http;//library.usask.ca/ca/data/

A pattern begins to emerge with the division of townships into 36 sections. The spatial pattern of these basic units, and their alternating proprietary, can be described as a checkerboard or grid pattern. A series of events occurred within the study area in relation to settlement during the period of study and are summarized:

- Settlement first occurred at an unhurried pace in the three decades prior to 1900 followed by settlement on lands nearest Prince Albert and the railroad running from Saskatoon to Prince Albert;

- followed by rapid land occupation nearest North Battleford, and the CNoR railroad running from Saskatoon to North Battleford (completed in 1905).

- Homestead lands were alienated an average of 10 years prior to alienation of CNoR and CPR lands. A substantial portion of the CPR lands nearest North Battleford had been purchased by 1905. These sales occurred when the land prices were not yet inflated and on those lands closest to the Saskatoon-North Battleford branch-line railroad.

- Land-lock occurred in both the east (Prince Albert area) and west (Battlefords area) regions of the study area. The eastern region experience land-lock until approximately 1910, while the western region repeated the phenomena until the 1920s.

- Pre-emption lands and school lands were alienated the latest, occurring an average of 21 and 26 years respectively after the average alienation of homestead lands.

- Construction of the CNoR Blaine Lake branch-line railroad, which passed through the heart of the study area, was completed in 1913 when homestead lands were 94% occupied.

- Homestead settlement had occurred in anticipation of the railroads. The construction of branch-line railroads had followed the population. It is clear that homestead settlement attracted more settlement, and railroad construction, like settlement, was cumulative.

- the majority of the lands purchased by agriculturists from the corporate landholders in the 1920s were those lands purchased by homesteaders that were already established. This practice resulted in an increase in the size of farming unit, more than an increase in the density of population in each township.

Up to 1931, the land alienation statistics for the 9005 qs in the study area are comparative to those in the 637,093 qs in the entire DLS (Table 6.3). The average year of alienation for all land categories in the study area are within 3 to 6 years of average alienation in the DLS as a whole. See table 8.3 for comparison.

Table 8.3 Average year of land patents by proprietor in the DLS and in the study area.

Land Proprietor	Average year of patent in the entire DLS	Average year of land alienation in study area
Homestead	1912 * (1907)	1907
Canadian Pacific Railway	1914	1917
Canadian Northern (National) Railway	1915	1917
Land Companies	data not available	1911
Pre-emption and partial qs land sales	1922	1928
Hudson's Bay Company	1925	1919
School Lands	1921	1933
Total of all lands	**1914**	**1910**
* Note: Land sale patents were issued the year of alienation however homestead lands were alienated 3 or 5 years prior to the year of their patent. *		

Source: Table 6.3, Urquhart, 1965: 317-27, and Table 8.2

The settlements of Prince Albert, Saskatoon, and the Battlefords (North Battleford and Battleford) are outside the study area, however, their proximity was significant. The services they provided included railroads, Land Branch offices, and general commodities required by agriculturists. The population of these centres, and the year in which they were connected by a railroad, are shown in Figure 8.4.

Table 8.4 City populations (1901-1931) and the year of their railroad connection.

City/Town	1901	1911	1921	1931	Year of railroad
Prince Albert	1,785	6,254	7,558	9,905	1891
Battlefords	609	3,440	5,337	5,986	1905
Saskatoon	113	12,004	25,739	43,291	1890

Source: Census Office, Government of Canada, Census 1911, 1921, & 1931

It is not known whether agricultural settlement closest to these centres precipitated their growth, or if the centres precipitated rural settlement. It is clear that the first rural occupation was nearest Prince Albert and North Battleford. In addition to the secondary railroads (Table 8.4), several branch-lines were constructed in stages in the area of study. See Table 8.5 for their locations and dates of completion.

Table 8.5 Branch-line railroads in the study area and their years of completion.

Railroad branch-line	year of completion	Railway company
Saskatoon to Prince Albert	1891	CPR *
Saskatoon to North Battleford	1905	CNoR
Prince Albert to Shellbrook	1910	CNoR
Shellbrook to Blaine Lake	1911	CNoR
Shellbrook to Big River	1911	CNoR
Blaine Lake to Denholm	1913	CNoR
Speers to Medstead	1928	CNR
Shellbrook to Shell Lake	1930	CNR

* sold to CNoR in 1906

Source: Regehr, 1977: 206-7; Richards and Fung, 1969: 13

Chapter Nine

9.0 Government and Railway Policy 1867-1931: an impediment or advancement of settlement?

9.1 Introduction

This chapter will address the thesis question of the spatio-temporal pattern of settlement in the region during the era of study, 1867-1931. It will highlight the major factors that have affected the pace, order, and pattern of settlement. The two federal Government Policies that primarily affected Western development were first and foremost the encouragement of immigration, and secondly its land policies. The arrangements that existed between the federal Government and the Railways and the policies of the Railways form the third forum of discussion. Although these have been examined individually in Chapters 3 to 6, and summarized in Chapter 7, a synopsis of the overall orchestration of events provides a larger dimension to the settlement pattern. The relationships between the various policies and the settlement pattern will be established in the Conclusion of this chapter.

9.2 Immigration

The massive loss of Canadian immigrants to the U.S (section 3.9) and the opening of the gates to allow Eastern European immigration (section 3.11.1) are two prevailing events in this era in regard to immigration. In the last two decades

of the 19th century, not even free grants of land were sufficient to keep immigrants to Canada from being attracted to the United States (Fowke, 1946: 163). Settlement in the Prairie West began to boom after the American frontier was filled in the 1890s, and coincidently concurrently not until Immigration Policy allowed and initiated promotion of Eastern European immigration in 1896.

By 1885 only 8.8% of the eventual total net homesteads had been recorded in the Dominion township registers by the Land Branch agents, and by 1900 only 20% (Norrie, 1979: 239-40). The change in immigration philosophy in 1896, from that of preferring immigrants of British background to that of other ethnicities, was largely due to the deliberate need to populate the western lands with agriculturists. As a result, in the first two decades of the 20th century over 3.3 million settlers entered the country (section 3.13). The admission of only preferred immigrants had limited the volume and pace of settlement prior to 1896. The change in immigration policy in that year is accountable to the settlement boom (Table 3.3).

9.3 Land Policies

Western lands had a dual role during the study period: to attract settlers and to finance the construction of the Transcontinental railroad. The integration between free homesteads and the Railway land grant was a distinct feature of the Dominion Lands Policy. The survey method used in the DLS had given a distinct pattern to the Canadian prairies, and the road allowances gave definition to the boundaries of the grid. The DLS template, however, created a systemic problem when homestead and railway lands were placed in alternate sections. The railroads were to be built and financed from the proceeds of the disposal of the lands granted

to the railway companies through sales to prospective settlers. The free-homestead grant system, however, interfered with land sales Policy, at least temporarily. For a new settler, free homestead land was the obvious preference when the alternative was buying land. It is therefore apparent that the availability of free homestead land was an impediment to the sale of Railway lands.

The Railways, however, were at an advantage in at least five ways (Chapters 5 and 6). The first was the fact that settlement usually occurred first on homestead lands, which immediately generated traffic for the railroads. This was evident in the study area (Table 8.2, page 117), whereby 94% of the homestead lands were settled prior to the construction (1913) of a branch-line railroad in the study area. Secondly, there were often long delays before the Railways selected and patented the lands to which they were entitled. After the lands were selected, the rapid sale of the Railway lands was not mandatory, and there were no penalties imposed by the Government if the Railway did not sell its lands by a certain date:

> The colonization railways' scramble for eligible land reserves bedeviled policies and politics. Land companies in the wake of the railway land grants, carried on into the realm of speculation until recurring booms and depressions distorted the growth of systematic settlement, and left a vast legacy of unproductive acreage. (Martin, 1938: 505)

Even though there was an unintended result, it appears that these circumstances yielded a considerable advantage for the Railways. The advantage gained with the delays in selecting the lands and thereafter with the delays of land sales, was that the prices that were paid for these lands increased with time. The inflated price of the land (Table 6.1) made the land less attractive for purchase and settlement; however, once established on their homesteads, most individuals did eventually take to expanding their holdings by purchasing land (section 7.9).

A third advantage, with the Railways delaying their selection of their lands, was that it exempted these lands from provincial and municipal taxation (section 6.3.1). A fourth advantage to the Railways was that after 1905, the Railways were offered generous provincial subsidies for the construction of branch-line railroads (section 5.4) in addition to their land grants. Despite the advantages the Railways already had up to that point in time, they received a $5,000 per mile subsidy for construction of branch-line railroads.

Finally, there had been no time limit imposed on the railway companies by the Governments for the construction of branch-line railroads (section 7.7). This may not have been as much of an advantage for the Railways, as it was a disadvantage for the settlers.

The Government was less concerned about the Railways' land sales and the Railways' associates' land sales than with their homestead lands. To qualify for the homestead land patent, the applicant was monitored to fulfill a residency and a minimum cultivation requirement. Homestead patents were issued only if these requirements were met. The Railways, however, could sell their lands to whomever they wished, at their own set price, with no cultivation, residency, or other requirements. No monitoring or regulating was imposed for the sale of any pre-empted or other corporate land sales. In addition, at its discretion, the Government sold large blocks of land to land companies. This free-enterprising protocol for land sales can be added to the factors that may have affected the pattern of settlement as well as influencing economic prosperity.

9.4 The CPR monopoly and the Transcontinental contract subsidy

With the completion of the Transcontinental railroad, the CPR had established a monopoly for the provision of rail services throughout much of the Prairies. There had been a period of about two decades between the completion of the CPR Transcontinental and the start of large-scale settlement (1883 to 1902). The Railways largely determined the nature of economic development on the Canadian prairies. In the 1880s and 1890s the CPR was Western Canada's only rail contact with Eastern Canada. It "was the most important and powerful influence in Western Canada during the decades of its monopoly" (Regehr, 1977: 2). This importance and power was recognized by the officials of the railway companies and by their users.

A second examination of the subsidy that was awarded to the CPR by the Canadian Government in 1881 (Table 5.1, page 66) is required. Georges (1968) estimated that the CPR contract over-subsidy was $61 million.[25] Mercer's (1973) calculation was based on the total value all the CPR land within the DLS being $33.7 million (1900 $). The estimate was based on the value of all lands in 1900. In the year 1900, however, only 20% of the eventual total net lands was recorded. The total dollar value of the CPR land grants that were sold from 1893 to 1930 was $153,942,400. In addition, the CPR sold $69,945,704 worth of land from 1931 to 1960 (Urquhart, 1965: 327-8).

[25] This estimate (section 5.2) comprised a colossal 10.7 % of Canada's $570 million gross domestic product (GDP) in 1885 when the CPR Transcontinental contract was fulfilled. If a similar percentage of Canada's GDP was put towards a subsidy in 2003, its value would be 518.5 billion in 2003 $. (Urquhart, 1987: 141 and Bank of Canada Financial Statistics, April 2004).

The value of the land was grossly understated. A more contemporary calculation of the value of the CPR lands that were sold from 1893 to 1960 would be at least $223,888,104. The computation in Table 9.1 shows the value of the over-subsidy that was awarded to the CPR by the Canadian Government in 1881 to be $209.1 million.

Table 9.1 CPR ledger (in millions of $1900)

Revenue	m $	Costs	m $
cash subsidy	21.1	capital construction	149.1
value of land	223.9		-
freight income up to 1900	113.3		-
Total	**358.3**		**149.1**
Excess subsidy			**209.1**

Note: The $209.1 million over-subsidy equates to approximately $5.8 billion in 2003 $.

Source: Urquhart, 1965: 327-8; and Bank of Canada Financial Statistics, April 2004.

The $223.9 million calculation for the value of land excludes the lands that were sold before 1893 and after 1960 where statistics were not available. It also excludes the post 1900 CPR expenditures and the income from post 1900 freight revenues (Table 5.2, page70). In less than a decade (1923-1931), CPR operating revenue was $436 million (Table 5.2).

9.5 The timing of branch-line construction

Despite the federal Government's over-subsidy, decades of monopoly, a kingdom of land grants, tax exemptions, an abundance of collateral and buying power, and generous provincial subsidies, the railway companies were still slow to extend their branch-lines to serve the agricultural population in the study area. Agricultural settlement in the study area, especially homesteads, was extensive prior to the construction of the Blaine Lake branch-line railroad.

The railroad from Shellbrook to North Battleford was not completed until 1913. Figure 9.1 illustrates the extent of settlement in the study area, and the branch-line railroads that were present in 1911.

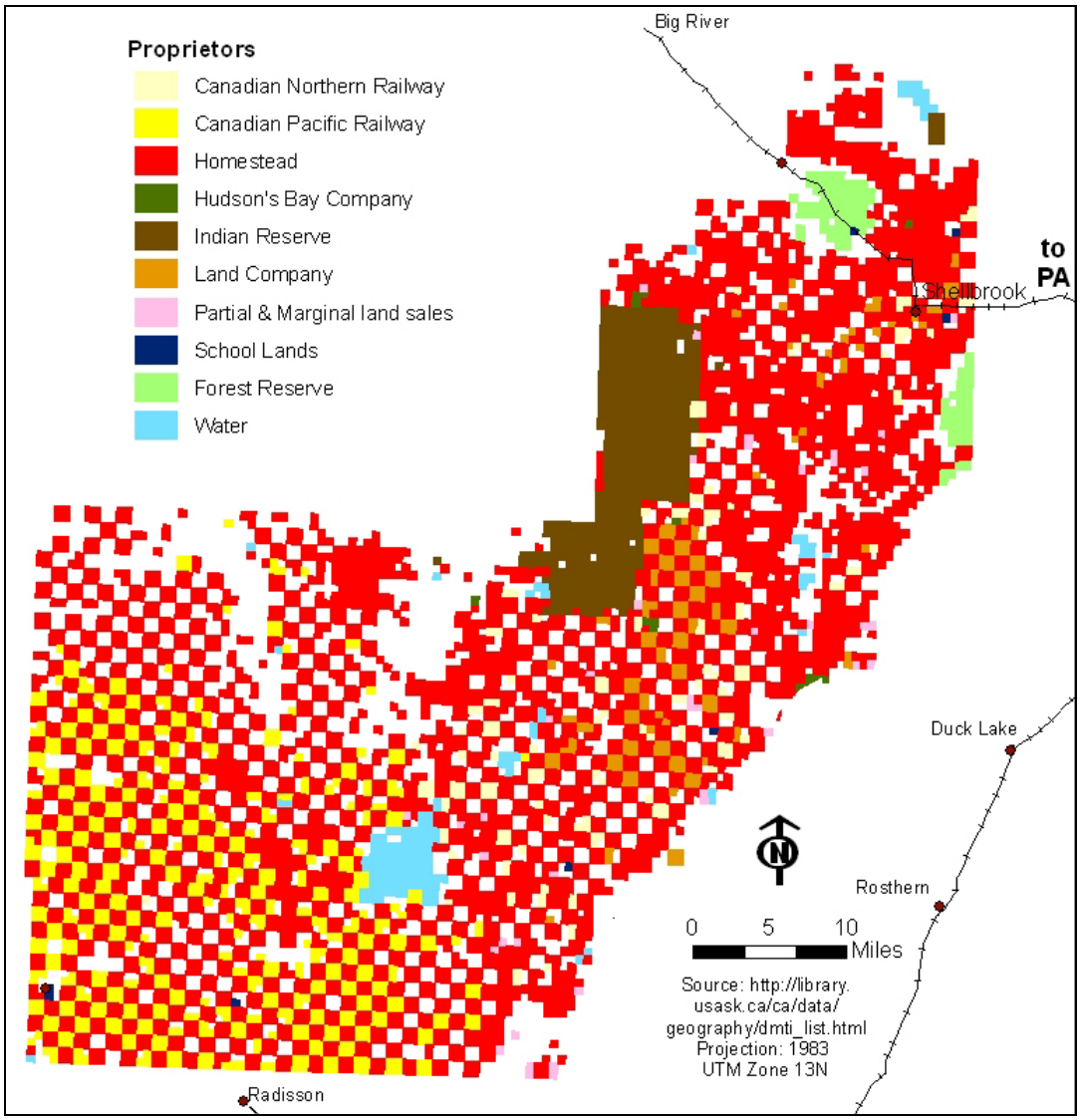


Figure 9.1 Extent of settlement and railroads in the study area in 1911

The absence of branch-line railroads inhibited the pace of advancement in respect to transporting immigrants and providing rail services for the export of grains and the exchange of essential commodities. Grain and commodities were in

some cases transported by draft animals in excess of 40 miles (65 kilometers) in the study area. Regions that were connected sooner, however, were populated and developed sooner (section 7.7, Figure 8.8, and Tables 8.3 to 8.5).

9.6 Federal versus provincial jurisdiction of the land resources

The difference between administration by Canada for the purposes of Canada and administration by the Provinces for the purposes of revenue was open to the widest range of evidence and speculation (sections 7.2 and 7.3). However the question remains,

> had the public lands of the Prairie Provinces been administered by the provinces for the purposes of revenue, instead of by the Government of Canada for the purposes of the Dominion, could the vast proceeds that accrued to the railways, land companies, and other agencies have found their way into provincial treasuries? (Martin, 1938: 502)

Aggregate gross lands sales for the railway, land companies and the other agencies have amounted to more than $379,000,000 (Martin, 1938: 503). In 1908, the Minister of the Interior Frank Oliver stated that

> The increase in our customs returns, the increase in our trade and commerce, the increase in our manufactures, is to a very large extent due to the increase in settlement on the free lands of the Northwest Territories…. The interest of the Dominion is to secure the settlement of the lands, and whether with a price or without a price [for the lands] makes little or no difference. It is worth the while of the Dominion to spend hundred of thousands of dollars in promoting immigration… in surveying and administering these lands, and then to give them away. (Martin, 1938: 402)

This strategy and sentiment placed little regard on the onus of proprietors, land sales prices, and to an extent the presence or absence of branch-line railroads.

It would be an immense task, if at all possible, to assess and project how the resulting general sales policy would have had different results if the proceeds of the land sales were administered by the individual provinces. It may also be a moot

point to discuss how a Provincially administered land Policy might have affected settlement and branch-line construction. It can be stated in general terms that the Federal land grants that were awarded to the Railways, in proportion to the railroad mileage provided in Saskatchewan (Table 5.3, page 75), would not have been as disproportionate if the matters were controlled and administered by each province.

9.7 Land-lock and indemnity selection

A systemic problem had been created in the DLS template by the decision to place railway lands in alternate sections. Since the Railways were slow to select their subsidies which consequently delayed marketing the lands they selected, half of the lands in many townships were effectively closed to settlement.

This land-lock served to reduce the land in each township which was available for occupation, and so to reduce the density of settlement in each township (Lambrecht, 1991: 25). Unless they arrived first, the options available for settlers were to apply for homestead lands in more remote areas, on agriculturally marginal lands, or to purchase the Railway lands. It is important to note that the CPR never built a branch-line in the area of study: however "indemnity selection" allowed it to select lands in the region.

Land-lock (section 7.6) and CPR monopoly (sections 5.5.2 and 9.3) had been chronic grievances for a whole generation. "These defects could be charged apocryphally against a system which the whole Dominion took for granted" (Martin, 1938: 505-6). See Figure 9.2.

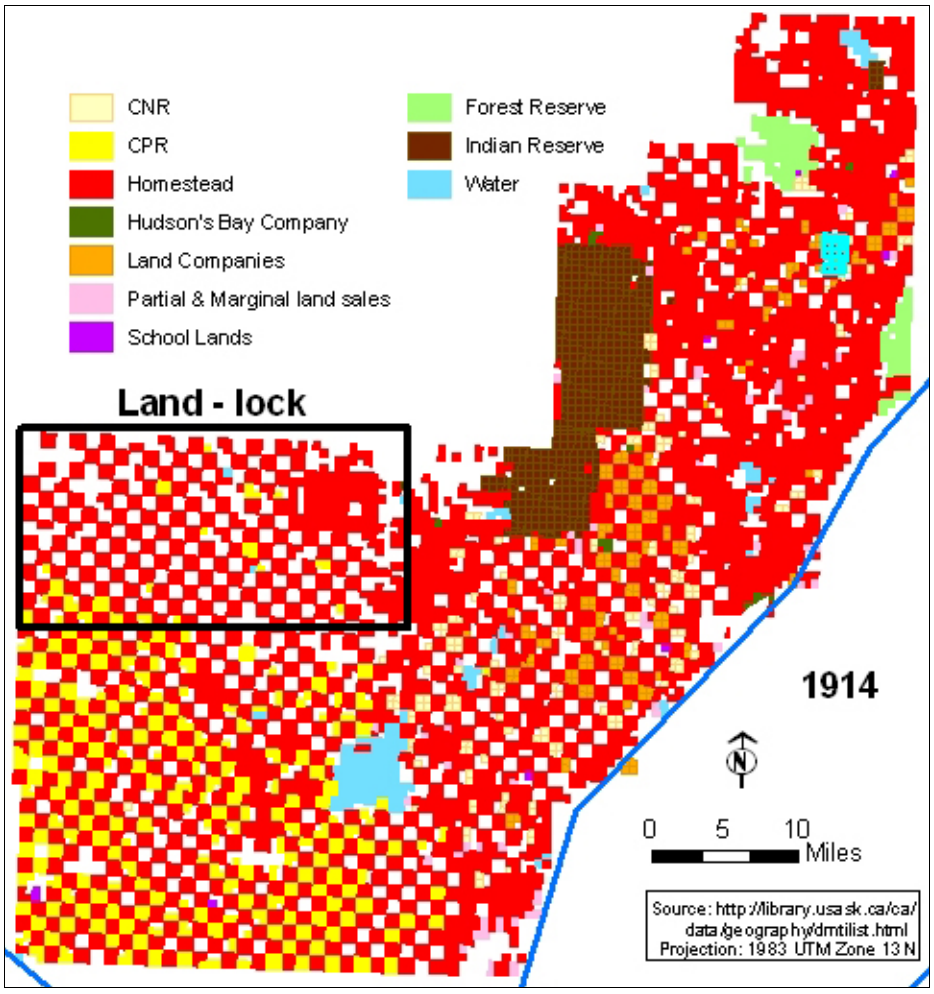


Figure 9.2 Land-lock in the area of study in 1914

In the second and third decades of the 20th century, the size of the farming unit in the Prairie West also systematically increased from that of one quarter-section to an average of approximately 2½ quarter-sections (section 7.10). This transformation in the size of farming unit was a result of the availability of lands for purchase by the agriculturists that were already established. Settlers purchased these lands from the railway companies, and they purchased additional lands some decades later from the Hudson's Bay Company (Figure 8.6) and the Schools. This pattern affected the pace of quarter-section alienation; however, it did not increase the density of agriculturists in each township.

9.8 Conclusion

In examining the Railways' role as positive or negative in relation to settlement, it can be suggested that it is a fallacy that their role has been perceived by Canadians as being positive. It is clear that the CPR's land sale policy acted as an impediment to settlement. It is also evident; however, that the availability of free homestead land was an impediment to the sale of Railway lands.

My research has established a linkage between the timing of the land alienations to a pattern in the settlement in the region of study. I have systematically presented the pace and order of settlement of populations that came to inhabit the land for agricultural purposes in the period of study.

An introductory conjecture of this research was that in the DLS a substantial portion of the lands that were not homestead lands largely lay vacant to settlement for a considerable period of time, and that the lands designated as homestead lands had for the most part been filled by that time. My findings support this submission with the evidence of the land-lock (sections 7.6 and 9.7) and the average year of land alienation from each proprietor (Table 8.3). The land-lock continued for two decades in several townships in the study area. The shift from the settlement of free-homestead land to settlement based on land sales was also a discernible trend in the 1920s, and this trend eventually ended the land-lock.

I have identified a meaningful spatio-temporal pattern which began with the largest proportion of settlement in the DLS occurring first on the free-homestead lands. At the time when most of the homestead lands had been settled, only about one half of the Railways' lands had been purchased. The Railway lands that had

been settled during the initial settlement period were those lands that were closest to the railroads, and nearest Prince Albert and North Battleford. These land sales had occurred prior to the 1500% increase in Railway lands prices that had occurred between 1900 and 1913 (Table 6.1 page 84).

The most significant finding was in the examination of the distance of settlement to the branch-line railroads that existed during the period of study. Settlement preceded the construction of the branch-line railroads and that in 1913, 94% of homestead settlement and 74% of total net settlement (Table 8.2) had occurred prior to the existence of a railroad in the area of study. The linkage between the dates of sales of the Government and corporate lands and the homestead settlements, to the timing of the construction of the branch-line railroads has been accounted for. The pace and order of settlement has supported a linkage between these factors. Branch-line construction occurred up to a decade after and in reaction to homestead settlement, and that during a critical period of settlement there was an absence of railroad accessibility for the transport of populations, grains, and commodities when transport by rail was required. As proposed, settlement occurred first on lands closest to the railroads in the Prince Albert area (see Figure 8.7, year 1900), and its distance from the railroads increased in time.

The land and branch-line policies of the CPR and CNoR, however, were designed as corporate business policies, and not necessarily designed to facilitate settlement. This device did permit economic prosperity for the Railways through their various means of business. Their methods began with a substantial over-subsidy in the initial contract for the construction of the first transcontinental

railroad, and included advantages of tax exemptions, setting the prices of land sales and freight rates, and choosing the dates of branch-line railroad construction. The pace and order of settlement in the study area during the period of study is also representative and consistent with the general pace and order of settlement that occurred in the DLS as a whole (Figure 6.1, Figure 8.9 and Table 8.3).

A number of Acts and Policies point to Government and Railway Policies that allowed the Railways to impede settlement. These Acts and Policies can also be linked to the pace and pattern of settlement within the study area:

- Dominion Land's Act of 1872 (Propriety template Figure 4.8, page 50)
- The CPR Transcontinental Railroad Contract 1881 (section 5.2, page 65)
- Indemnity selection of lands (1903) (section 7.5, page 102)
- Railway tax exemptions and evasions (section 6.3.1, page 83)
- No time limit for Railways to
  - choose their lands from the railway land reserve (until 1908)
  - construct branch-line railroads
- No limitations to setting
  - land prices (Table 6.1)
  - freight rates (Table 5.4 and "fair discrimination" section 5.6)
- Immigration Acts (prior to 1896) having restrictive immigration policies

The admission of only preferred immigrants affected the volume and pace of settlement until 1896. The change in immigration philosophy, from that of preferring immigrants of British background to that of other ethnicities, was largely due to the deliberate need to populate the western lands with agriculturists. Immigration policies had defined access to Canadian society and controlled the rate and social composition of the flow of people into the country. This not only

affected the pace, but also had affected the size and the characteristics of the population.

The general strategy of Macdonald's National Policy was nation-building and the creation of prosperity. It is a sad reflection that for a large part this intention was entrusted to a Railway company. In the CPR Transcontinental contract of 1881, the Governments had forfeited their powers to affect Railway land sales. The conduct and policies of the Railways, however, were simply consistent with good corporate business practice. The railway companies were given the authority to control the key components of nation-building, however their corporate business practices were antithetical to the National Policy's intention of promoting settlement, prosperity and nation-building.

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Appendix 1

Year	P.M.	Notable event
1867	John A. Macdon	Confederation (Ont., Que., N.S., N.B.) BNA Act creates Dominion of Canada.
1868		
1869		Hudson's Bay Company transfer of Rupert's Land to Canada.
1870		Manitoba joins Confederation. Red River Rebellion. formation of Northwest Mounted Police.
1871		BC joins Confederation. Treaty #1 signed. Treaties #2-#7 signed in decade.
1872		Dominion Lands Act. CPR awarded transcontinental contract
1873		PEI joins Confederation. Pacific Scandal. Washington Treaty signed between Britain., U.S., & Canada.
1874	A.Mackenzie	
1875		Supreme Court of Canada established.
1876		
1877		
1878		Railway was west of the lakehead.
1879	John A. Macdonald	
1880		
1881		An estimated 15,701 Chinese males entered B.C. in the next 4 years to complete CPR
1882		Railway completed from Fort William to Winnipeg.
1883		Saskatchewan Government moved from Battleford to Regina.
1884		
1885		Riel leads Metis and Indian revolt in Batoche. Last spike driven in CPR transcontinental
1886		
1887		
1888		
1889		
1890		
1891		
1892		
1893		
1894		
1895		
1896	Wilfred Laurier	Clifford Sifton Minister of Immigration & Interior (1896-1905)
1897		
1898		Klondike goldrush (1898-1903).
1899		South-African Boer War 1899-1902.
1900		
1901		
1902		
1903		*O Canada* becomes national anthem in English Canada.
1904		
1905		Saskatchewan and Alberta join Confederation. Cancellation of North Atlantic Trading Co.
1906		Frank Oliver Minister of Immigration 1906-1910
1907		
1908		
1909		
1910		
1911		U.S. seeks free trade with Canada. Reciprocity and Laurier Liberals were rejected.
1912		
1913		
1914		GTR completes transcontinental. Parliament passes War Measures Act
1915		Canadian Northern Railway transcontinental completed
1916		
1917		
1918		CNoR, Grand Trunk; & Intercolonial became Canadian National Railway (1918-23).
1919		
1920		
1921	Mackenzie King	
1922		
1923		
1924		
1925		
1926		
1927		
1928		
1929		
1930		DLS transferred from Federal to Provincial jurisdiction